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ART. I.—FRIAR BACON AND LORD BACON.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

1. *Lord Bacon's Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Henry VII;* with Introductory Dissertations and Notes, by J. DEVEY, M. A. London: H. G. Bohn. 1 vol. 12mo.
2. *The Entire Works of Francis Bacon*, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. A new Edition, revised and elucidated; and enlarged by the addition of many pieces not printed before. Collected and edited by ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; JAMES SPEDDING, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; and DOUGLAS DENON HEATH, Esq., Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. [Announced in Oct., 1848.]

WE have been anxious to introduce the evidences which justify the suspicion of Francis Bacon's obligations to Roger so gradually that they may prepare the way for more conclusive testimonies, and give to the whole array a cumulative effect. Francis Bacon was a man of wonderful and versatile powers of mind, and of vast genius. Tact, sagacity, ingenuity, depth, eloquence, and facility of expression he possessed in the highest degree. After all possible deductions are made from his reputation, he will still remain a great man, a great reformer, a great philosopher. If such a man stooped to plagiarism, or the semblance of plagiarism, he would carefully conceal all traces of the source to which he was indebted. It is, consequently, a difficult as well as a delicate task to demonstrate the suspected crime, and to catch the criminal *flagrante delicto*; and, however strong the direct testimony may be, it will be scarcely credited, unless the evidence is sustained by previous indications, and the combined significance of the separate testimonies is duly appreciated.

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It may be that everything hitherto advanced is insufficient to prove that the later philosopher was indebted to his predecessor. If this constituted the entire proof, it might be represented as too slight to sustain any definite conclusion, though, in our opinion, it would sanction a very strong suspicion of such obligations. When, however, this is confirmed by such coincidences as could not be accidental, and which, nevertheless, are essential characteristics of each author, these acquire additional strength themselves, and prepare us for a more correct and prompt estimation of the relations of the parties.

Will any casual agreement explain the fact that both allege the same four impediments to correct knowledge? Roger Bacon declares that "there are four principal obstacles to the discovery of truth, which embarrass every one in the pursuit of knowledge, and scarcely permit any to attain true wisdom; namely, the example of frail and inadequate authority; length of custom or habit; the belief of the untrained multitude; and the concealment of one's own ignorance with the pretension to apparent learning."* It is stated by Brucker,† that Roger Bacon wrote an essay "On the Four Universal Causes of Human Ignorance." This must have been the work entitled in Jebb's catalogue, *De Causis Ignorantiæ Humanae*, and which that learned editor, as already observed, regards as contained in the First Book of the *Opus Majus*. If, however, it was a separate work, the means are not accessible to us of determining the fact, or consulting its pages. We must content ourselves with what is before us, but that suffices to demonstrate that Roger Bacon reduced the chief impediments to the apprehension of truth to four, to wit, authority, habit, popular opinion, and vain ostentation.

Is it an accident that Lord Bacon agrees so completely with Roger Bacon in declaring that "four species of idols beset the human mind; to which, for distinction's sake, we have assigned names; calling the first, Idols of the Tribe; the second, Idols of the Den; the third, Idols of the Market; the fourth, Idols of the Theater?"‡ The designations are Lord Bacon's, and are glaring instances of that constant affectation of quaint and novel technicalities, which was peculiar to his style. But the division itself is Roger Bacon's. If the developments of these general fallacies by each author are carefully compared together, it will be apparent that the Idols of the Theater correspond with the fallacies proceeding from undue reverence for authority; the Idols of the Market with those occasioned by vulgar

* *Opus Majus*, Pars I, cap. i, pp. 1, 2.

† Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.*, tom. III, p. 822.

‡ *Nov. Org.*, lib. I, Aph. xxxix.

opinion; the Idols of the Den with those resulting from habit; and the Idols of the Tribe, alone, do not accord thoroughly with those caused by empty display and the desire to conceal ignorance. These fallacies seem to be included under the Idols of the Tribe,* but they are not distinctly assigned to any of the four divisions; and on a close examination it will be discovered that there is much confusion in Lord Bacon's distribution of fallacies, and that the four *genera*, which the translator has clumsily rendered *species*, run continually into each other. His hand is not as steady as Roger Bacon's in drawing the lines of demarkation between the several classes; and his exposition manifests much more poetry than logic.

We cannot repress the conviction that Lord Bacon originally derived his ideas on the subject of idols from his Franciscan precursor, and that he expanded and modified them according to his own taste, with rare sagacity and exuberant imagination. He did not copy servilely, but if he copied at all, he is guilty, because he studiously concealed the obligation and withheld all commendation. We only remember a single instance in which he has mentioned Roger Bacon; but that instance proves that he either was acquainted, or pretended to be acquainted with his writings, and that he disguised their true character.† His own doctrines on the subject of fallacies grew as he advanced in his philosophical career. The idols are not mentioned under their distinctive names in the *Advancement of Learning*,‡ though their subsequent appellations manifestly grew out of the metaphorical expressions there employed. These designations are introduced in the *Novum Organon*, and thence transferred to the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*,§ whose views, however, approximate in other respects to the original draft of the doctrine. The distribution of fallacies, as it appears in the *Organon*, was, therefore, not conceived at a single heat, but gradually assumed its present shape. Still, in the earlier and the later forms, it bears such a resemblance to the ideas of Roger Bacon that we cannot resist the conviction that it was thence derived. There is a singular and inexplicable substitution, at times, of four for three classes of fallacies, and three for four, in the writings

* Vide *Nov. Org.*, lib. I, Aph. xlix.

† In his censure of the Alchemists, he remarks, "Yet I count them not all alike; forasmuch as there is a useful sort of them, who, not very solicitous about theories, do, by a kind of mechanic subtilty, lay hold of the extensions of things; such is Bacon."—*Interpretation of Nature*, vol. xv, p. 98; vol. x, p. 440.

‡ Bacon's Works, vol. ii, pp. 190–193.

§ *De Augm. Scient.*, lib. V, cap. iv, vol. viii, pp. 292–296.

of Lord Bacon.* This vacillation produces much confusion, and is wholly unintelligible, until we perceive a similar hesitancy and inconsistency in Roger Bacon.†

It must be observed that the mode of reasoning usually adopted by Roger Bacon is widely different from that employed by Francis. The former assails authority; he declares it to be the cause of fallacy; yet his opposition to it is sustained by the citation of authorities. Each position is backed by a long array of quotations from saints and sinners, from the classical authors, from the Christian fathers, from the Arabian philosophers, and occasionally from his contemporaries, of whom he speaks not very highly.‡ Some reason for this procedure may, however, be discovered in the fact that the *Opus Majus* was addressed to Pope Clement IV., and was written for his especial illumination.

We will not dwell upon the four kinds of causes, the efficient, the material, the formal, and the final, which were accepted by both the Bacons. These are borrowed from Aristotle, and had been fully expounded by Abelard.§ But we will note that the maxim of Aristotle, repudiated in our days, and which Lord Bacon has been represented as repudiating, that true knowledge is a knowledge of causes, is distinctly endorsed by him, "*Recte ponitur; vere scire est per causas scire.*"||

Induction and experimentation have been regarded almost universally as the characteristic triumphs of the Baconian method, meaning thereby the method of Lord Bacon. In very recent times the more intelligent scholars have renounced this old delusion, and, acknowledging the important services rendered by Lord Bacon in directing public attention more forcibly to these processes, they have ascribed to Socrates and Aristotle the merit of developing the Inductive system, and to the Alchemists the credit of having employed experimentation in physical inquiries, and of having applied induction to the investigation of nature with much greater success than attended the efforts of Lord Bacon. If, indeed, he had otherwise any special claims to original invention in these respects, they would be sadly attenuated when it was recognised that he had been anticipated by Roger Bacon. Both modes of proceeding are

* Advancement of Learning, vol. ii, p. 193. De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. iv, vol. viii, p. 292.

† Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. ii, p. 2; cap. iii, p. 3; cap. iv, p. 6; cap. viii, p. 9; cap. ix, p. 9.

‡ Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. vii, p. 9.

§ Rémusat Abelard, No. II, chap. v, vol. ii, p. 444.

|| Nov. Org., lib. II, Aph. ii.

contemplated in the significant precept, "*per experientiam sensibilem in arcanis naturæ et artis expergefactus inveniat rationem.*"* Nor can it be objected, that the induction proposed by the friar is nothing more than the "*inductio simplex*" ascribed by Lord Bacon to Aristotle. It is true, he does not trouble himself with the cumbrous and complicated system of Instances, Prerogative, Negative, Comparative, Proximate, Exclusive, Solitary, Migratory, Conspicuous, Clandestine, Constitutive, Proportionate, Conterminous, Dominant, Concomitant and Hostile, Subjunctive, Federative, Crucial, Divorcing, Illuminating, Thural, Citing, Itinerant, Supplementary, Twitching, Mathematical, Benevolent, Ferular, Cursive, Quantitative, Wrestling, Suggestive, and, what might have included all, and dispensed with all, Instances generally Useful. He does not embarrass himself with this artificial and inoperative machinery, nor does he concern himself with First and Second Vintages, but he distinctly declares that his notion of the experimental procedure was very different from anything contained in Aristotle, Seneca, or Avicenna,† and Lord Bacon makes a similar declaration for himself.‡

There is nothing in Lord Bacon more urgent or explicit than the manner in which Roger Bacon continually insists upon the necessity of observation and experimentation. It is not a bare or hurried perception of facts and relations which will content him, but a regular, methodical, diligent investigation, assisted, in case of necessity, by suitable apparatus. This is evident from his plain and repeated declarations,§ and is acknowledged by Humboldt.|| In

* Opus Majus, Pars I, cap. x, p. 11.

† "Sed nec Aristoteles, nec Avicenna in suis naturalibus hujusmodi rerum notitiam nobis dederunt; nec Seneca, qui de eis librum composuit specialem, sed scientia experimentalis ista certificat."

‡ Instaur. Magna. Distributio Operis, vol. viii, p. 167; v. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxix.

§ "Ad hæc intelligenda necessarium est uti experientiis certis." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. vii, p. 344. "Hæc omnia docet experientia, sicut de Iride, unde argumenta non certificant hæc, sed grandes experientiæ per instrumenta perquiruntur, et per varia necessaria; et ideo nullus sermo in his potest certificare; totum enim dependet ab experientia; et propter hoc non reputo me attigisse hic plenam veritatem, quia nondum expertus sum omnia, quæ oporteat requiri in studio sapientiæ; . . . sic igitur quilibet sapiens de facili recipiet, quod experientia certificat questiones circa has res, et non argumentum." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 351. "Veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum, in quas per nullam viam possunt illæ scientiæ hæc sola scientiarum domina speculativarum (*Experimental Philosophy*.) potest dare." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. xii; De Sec. Prærog. Sci. Exp., p. 352.

|| Humboldt's Cosmos, part II, sect. vi, vol. ii, pp. 619, 620. Ed. Bohn.

one respect Roger Bacon's views reached through the future generations far beyond the range of Lord Bacon's, and anticipated the time when the physical sciences would be treated mathematically, a prevision only realized by the labors of Newton, La Place, and Fourier.*

There is a distinctive feature in the Baconian philosophy which has been rarely noticed, though it is one of its most valuable characteristics, and the one which has unconsciously exercised the greatest influence on our modern sciences and scientific methods. This is the entire elimination of all consideration of first principles, and the repudiation of all research into occult causes. It is a point frequently and most strenuously insisted on by Lord Bacon;† but it is not original with him. The same doctrine is inculcated by Roger Bacon,‡ and has been repeated, more or less distinctly, by many other philosophers, ancient and modern. In them, however, it is, until very recent times, rather an indication than a cardinal principle.§

We will pass on to the consideration of the agreement between the special positions assumed by the two Dromios. For the sake of condensation we will refrain from commentary, as far as practicable, though the temptations to violate this rule will be almost irresistible, and we will also exhibit our illustrations, whenever it can be done conveniently, in parallel columns. We shall also occasionally append extracts from other authors, who may have rendered unavowed services to Lord Bacon. We turn to the *Novum Organon*, and commence with the celebrated Aphorism with which it opens:

* "Nulla scientia potest sciri sine mathematica." Opus Majus, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 338. "... scientias alias non debere sciri per argumenta dialectica et sophistica, (cf. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xi,) quæ introducuntur communiter, sed per demonstrationes mathematicas descendentes in veritates et opera aliarum scientiarum, et regulantes eas, sine quibus nec possunt intelligi, nec manifestari, nec doceri, nec disci," etc., etc. Op. Maj., Ps. IV, Distinct. I, cap. iii, p. 49.

† Fab. Cupid., vol. xi, p. 99. De Augm. Scient., lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. lxvi.

‡ "... hæc veritates non sunt de primarum substantia, sed penitus extræ eas, licet sint in terminis earum, quum nec sint quæstiones ibi, nec principia." Op. Maj., Ps. VI, cap. xii, p. 352; cf. Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.

§ Theophrast., Metaph., c. 5. Aristot., Metaph., III, c. iv; X, c. 5, 6. Anal. Post., I, c. ii. Alex. Aphrod., Schol. Aristot., pp. 525, 527, 592, 605, 653. Asclep. Schol., p. 599. Ammon. Schol., p. 519. Plat., Tim., p. 17, Caietan. ap. Leibn's: tom. i, p. 94. Leibnitz, Op., tom. i, p. cxliv, clxi. Des Cartes, ap. Morell., Hist. Phil., p. 117. Spinoza, *Ibid.*, p. 125. Jacobi, *Ibid.*, p. 597. Comté, Syst. Phil. Pos., vol. i, p. 7.

"Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more."—*Nov. Org.*, lib. I, Aph. I. Cf. *Inst. Magna. Distr. Op.*, vol. ix, p. 178.

"The unassisted hand, and the understanding left to itself, possess but little power. Effects are produced by the means of instruments and helps, which the understanding requires no less than the hand."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. II. Cf. *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 264.†

"Even the effects already discovered are due to chance and experiment, (*casual experience*?) rather than to the sciences."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. viii.‡

"Our only hope then is in genuine induction."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. xiv. Cf. *Instaur. Mag. Distr. Op.* vol. ix, p. 170. *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262.

"There are and can exist but two ways of investigating and discovering truth. The one hurries on rapidly from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms; and from them

"The whole aim of philosophy is nothing more than to evolve the natures and properties of things."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 22. "... multa secreta naturæ et artis complentis naturam."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 11.*

"Truths are infinite, and so are virtues, and there are innumerable degrees of truth and virtue, so that the human mind is manifestly insufficient to provide what is necessary in all things, or to avoid falsehood and evil in single things."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. vii. p. 7.

"Experience assures us of this, since more of the secrets of wisdom have been discovered among the simple and neglected, than among those famous with the vulgar."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. x, p. 12.

"Therefore let not your Holiness be surprised, nor disdain the authority, if my labors are opposed to the habits of the multitude and vulgar examples. For this is the only way of arriving at the knowledge of truth and perfection."—*Op. Mag.*, Ps. I, cap. viii, p. 9.

"This Experimental Science has three great prerogatives with respect to the other sciences. One is that it tests by experiment the noble conclusions of them all. For the other

* "ὁλως δὲ ἡ τεχνὴ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ ἢ ἡ φύσις ἀδυνατεῖ ἀπεργάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ μιμεῖται." Aristot., *Phys.*, Ausc. II, VIII. "Homo non est institutor naturæ, sed utitur in operibus artis et virtutis ad suum usum rebus naturalibus." S. Thom. Aquin., *Summa*, Ps. I, Qu. xxii, Art. ii. "... ut exinde stupenda sæpe consurgant miracula, non tam arte quam natura, cui sears ista ministram exhibet hæc operanti." H. Corn. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van. Scient.*, c. xlii. "... cum tamen ars omnis non posset naturam superare, sed illam imitatur, et longis passibus sequitur, et multo fortior sit vis naturæ quam artis." H. Corn. Agrippa, *eiusd. op.*, c. XC. Cf. *Fr. Bacon, Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. III.

† The idea of an instrument for the mind is taken from the word *Organon*, and Aristot., *Probl.*, lib. xxx, § 5.

‡ This idea is originally from Cassiodorus, *Var. I. Ep. ii.* "... ut est mos hominibus, occasiones repentinas ad artes ducere, talia exempla meditantes, fecerunt," etc.

as principles, and their supposed indisputable truth, derives and discovers the intermediate axioms. This is the way now in use. The other constructs its axioms from the senses and particulars, by ascending continually and gradually, till it finally arrives at the most general axioms, which is the true but unattempted way."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. xix. Cf. Aph. lxix, civ. *Inst. Magna. Distr. Op.*, vol. ix, p. 167.

sciences can discover their principles by experiences, but they arrive at their conclusions by arguments drawn from the principles so found. But if they ought to have a particular and complete experience of their conclusions, they must have it by the aid of this noble science."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. VI, cap. ii, p. 338.*

"For there are two modes of knowing, to wit, by argument and experiment. Argumentation concludes and makes us conclude; but it neither certifies nor removes doubt, so that the mind may rest in the apprehension of truth, unless this has been confirmed by the experimental method. For many possess arguments in regard to things which may be known, but for want of actual experience, they neglect them, and neither avoid things pernicious nor prosecute the good. . . . Wherefore argument does not suffice, but experiment."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. vi, cap. ii, p. 336. Vide Ps. iii, p. 35.

The opening aphorisms of the *Novum Organon* contain the essence of the Baconian reform of philosophy, and to these we have appended the parallel passages of Roger Bacon. Those which we have already cited are succeeded in the *Novum Organon* by the aphorisms related to idols, and the agreement subsisting between the two Bacons in regard to this topic has been noted. In our future extracts we can follow no regular order; nor is it necessary, as the characteristic tenets of both philosophers have been shown to be the same, and it only remains for us to illustrate similarity in details. We do not pretend to expose all the parallelisms, but merely to select from the copious array which might be adduced. We proceed with our comparisons, inattentive to the order of their occurrence:

"And as we expect a greater knowledge of human affairs, and more mature judgment, from an old man than from a youth, on account of his experience, and the variety and number of things he has seen, heard, and meditated upon; so we have reason to expect much greater things of our own age, (if it knew but its strength,

"Moreover, the pursuit of wisdom ought always to advance in this life, since there is nothing perfect in human inventions. Wherefore, we, their posterity, ought to supply the defects of the ancients, because we have entered upon the possession of their labors, by the aid of which, unless we are asses, we may be stimulated

* This, however, is only the reaffirmation of the doctrine of Aristotle. *Eth. Nicomach.*, lib. VI, cap. iii, p. 1189, ed. Bekker.

and would essay and exert it,) than from antiquity, since the world has grown older, and its stock has been increased and accumulated with an infinite number of experiments and observations."—*Nov. Org.*, I, Aph. lxxxiv.

"So much concerning Magic; the name of which we have rescued from infamy, and the true species of which we have distinguished from the false and ignoble."—*De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. v, vol. viii, p. 197. The whole passage (pp. 193–197) is too long to be extracted. Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, pp. 143–148.

(This distinction was made also by Giov. Pico di Mirandola, Martin del Rio, and H. Corn. Agrippa, before Lord Bacon.)

"And as concerning Divine Philosophy, or Natural Theology, it is that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of his creatures."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, p. 128; *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 158; compare *The New Atlantis*, vol. ii, p. 349.

"This only remains, that the whole scheme of philosophy be commenced anew, with better precautions; and that there be a universal instauration of the sciences, the arts, and all human learning, raised upon the proper foundations."—*Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit*, vol. ix, p. 146.

"But because the distribution and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter

to still better things; for it is a most miserable condition to be always using the inventions of others, and never inventing ourselves, as Boethius says, and as we have already shown in its proper place."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 28.

"We have proposed inquiries in Magic, in which we intimate that Magic is two-fold; of which one consists entirely of the work and authority of demons, a thing truly execrable and portentous; the other, when it is fairly examined, is nothing else than the absolute consummation of Natural Philosophy."—*Apolog. Baconis*, p. 80, cit. *Prolog. Galeatus*, p. 34.

"But the aim of all philosophy consists in this, that the Creator should be known by the knowledge of his creatures, . . . for speculative philosophy extends to the knowledge of the Creator through the knowledge of his creatures."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. I, cap. vii, p. 22.

"Therefore, philosophers ought to contemplate philosophy as if it were recently discovered anew, so that they may adapt it to its proper ends."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 31.

"For Metaphysics* is the science of those things which are common to all subjects and sciences, and therefore it indicates the number of the sciences, and that another science is required superior to philosophy, whose properties it treats as a whole, though it cannot determine its particulars."—*Roger Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 30.

* Aristotle calls Metaphysics the First Philosophy, *Metaph.* I, c. x. The distinction of Roger Bacon between Metaphysics and Philosophy corresponds nearly to that of Proudhon in his *Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité*.

into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of 'Philosophia Prima,' primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, pp. 124, 125. Cf. *De Augm. Scient.*, lib. III, cap. i, vol. viii, pp. 152, 153.

"To conclude, therefore, let no man, upon a weak conceit of propriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works, divinity or philosophy; but rather let men beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling; to use, and not to ostentation; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle or confound these learnings together."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. I, vol. ii, p. 13.

"For in theology the stars of philosophy, which have hitherto chiefly enlightened us, suffice no longer. Therefore it would be right to observe silence in this matter." . . . "Let us conclude, therefore, that sacred theology ought to be drawn from the word and oracles of God, not from the light of nature, and the dictation of reason," etc.—*De Augm. Scient.*, lib. IX, cap. i, vol. ix, pp. 116, 117.

"The bounds of this knowledge are, that it sufficeth to convince atheism, but not to inform religion; and therefore there was never miracle wrought to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God; but miracles have been wrought to convert idolaters and the superstitious, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God."—*Adv. of Learning*, B. II, vol. ii, p. 128; *De Augm. Sci.*, lib. III, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 158.

"There is no author, who, in addition to his main purpose, does not introduce incidentally some things more appropriate elsewhere; and the cause of this is the connection of the sciences, because each depends in some sort upon the rest."—*Op. Maj.*, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

"Hence it necessarily follows that we Christians ought to use philosophy in Divine things, and to accept many theological dogmas in philosophy, so that it may appear that one wisdom is shining in both, which obligation I would desire to certify, not only on account of the unity of wisdom, but because, as I shall show hereafter, it behooves in philosophy to resolve the sublime sentences of faith and theology which we find in the books of the philosophers and in the walks of philosophy."—*Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 28.

"The persuasion of faith is necessary; but this can take place only in two modes; either by the wonderful works of God which are over the faithful and the infidels, in regard to which no one can presume that the way is common to believers and unbelievers, or by the way common to both; but this is only by way of philosophy. Therefore, it is the function of philosophy to afford confirmation of the Christian faith. But the articles of this faith are the peculiar principles of theology; therefore philosophy must descend to the confirmation of the principles of theology; although less freely than in the case of any of the other sciences."—*Rog. Bacon, Op. Maj.*, Ps. II, cap. viii, p. 31.

Our budget is by no means emptied; the parallel instances which we have collected still abound; but the duplex mode of their exhibition occupies so much space, that we cheerfully abandon it, as the evidence is already sufficient to demonstrate that Lord Bacon, if acquainted with Roger Bacon, as he professes to be, must have either

borrowed from him extensively without confessing the loan, or must have been aware that the doctrines promulgated by him as new were already contained in the system of the friar. In either event he was guilty of the crime, which, without the least foundation, he has charged upon Aristotle. We shall add a few passages, in the original Latin, from Roger Bacon, in which the agreement is not so direct and obvious as in the examples already cited, but in which there is a remarkable community of ideas and conformity of doctrine. In the notes we shall refer to the corresponding passages of Lord Bacon, whenever we are able to refer to them:

"Sed tamen quantumcunque fragilis sit auctoritas, nomen habet honoris, et consuetudo violentior est ad peccatum quam ipsa; utraque autem earum impetuosior est sensus vulgi. Nam auctoritas solum alticit, consuetudo ligat, opinio vulgi obstinatos parit et confirmat."*

"Nomen autem auctoritatis favorabile est. Et ideo majores nostri venerandi sunt, sive habeant auctoritatem veram, sive apparentem, quæ est auctoritas ducum vulgi."†

"Nam tanta difficultate videndi veritatem premimur et vacillamus, quod fere quilibet philosophorum contradicit alii, ita quod vix in una vanissima questione, vel in uno vilissimo sophismate, vel una operatione sapientiæ, sicut in medicina, et chirurgia, et aliis operationibus secularium, unus cum alio concordat."‡

"Nec est mirum, si dico istos libros logicæ meliores, nam oportet esse quatuor argumenta veridica, duo enim movent intellectum speculatorum seu rationem, scil. dialecticum per debilem habitum et initialem, qui est opinio, ut disponamur ad scientiam, quæ est habitus completus et finalis, in quo quiescet mens speculando veritatem. Et hic habitus non acquiritur per demonstrationem. Sed cum voluntas seu intellectus practicus sit nobilior quam speculativus, et virtus cum felicitate excellit in infinitum scientiam nudam, et nobis est magis necessaria sine comparatione, necesse est ut habeamus argumenta ad exercitandum per intellectum practicum, præcipue cum magis simus infirmi in hac parte quam in speculatione."§

"Demonstratio efficacissima est in speculationibus nudis, sed impotens est omnino in practicis."||

"Hæ rationes sunt universales, sed in particulari contingit hoc ostendi descendendo ad omnes partes philosophiæ, quomodo per applicationem mathematicæ sciuntur omnia. Et hoc nihil aliud est, quam ostendere scientias alias non debere sciri per argumenta dialectica et sophistica, quæ introducunt communiter, sed per demonstrationes mathematicas descendentes in veritates et opera aliarum scientiarum, et regulantes eas, sine quibus nec possunt intelligi, nec manifestari, nec doceri, nec disci. Si quis vero in particulari descenderet applicando mathematicæ potestatem ad singulas scientias, viderit quod nihil in eis posset sciri magnificum sine mathematica."¶

* Op. Maj., Ps. I, cap. iv, p. 5. De Augm. Scient., lib. I, vol. viii, p. 35.

† Op. Maj., Ps. I, cap. v, p. 6. De Augm. Scient., lib. I, vol. viii, p. 39. Nov. Org., lib. I, Aph. xxxii.

‡ Op. Maj., Ps. I, cap. vi, p. 8.

§ Op. Maj., Ps. III, p. 35. De Augm. Sci., lib. VII, cap. i, vol. viii, p. 390.

|| Op. Maj., Ps. III, pp. 35, 36. De Augm. Sci., lib. V, cap. ii, vol. viii, p. 262. Inst. Mag., Distr. Op., vol. ix, pp. 157, 172.

¶ Op. Maj., Ps. IV, dist. i, cap. iii, p. 48. A part of this remarkable passage has been cited before.

"Oportet ergo omnia certificari per viam experientiae. Sed duplex est experientia; una est per sensus exteriores, et sic experimenta ea, quae in caelo sunt per instrumenta ad hoc facta, et haec inferiora per opera certificata ad visum experimur, et quae non sunt pervenientia in locis in quibus sumus, scimus per alios sapientes qui experti sunt."*

And then he wanders on to the inspiration of the patriarchs and the necessity of divine illumination; for if, in many things, Roger Bacon was in advance of his age, he was in all deeply imbued with its spirit.

We will here discontinue our laborious gleanings from the old Franciscan friar. In our opinion, they are amply sufficient to establish the fact of Lord Bacon's direct or indirect, but very extensive obligations to his work. In Roger Bacon, however novel his views, or however great his originality, there is rarely any pretension to the merits of a first discoverer. He is always anxious to confirm his positions by respectable or sanctified authorities; to shield himself from the suspicion of innovation by fathering his doctrines upon patriarchs, sages, and Scripture. If we were familiar with the works of Albertus Magnus, Hugh and Richard de St. Victor, and the other precursors of Roger Bacon; if we were as well acquainted with the lucubrations of the early Alchemists, with the writings of the Rabbinical doctors, and the volumes of the Arabian naturalists, as we are with the *Novum Organon*, we might be able to trace the origin of Roger Bacon's doctrines. But his claims to our regard would not be impaired thereby, because he never seeks to conceal, but always to proclaim and multiply his authorities, and because it was the habitual practice of the mediaeval writers to repeat each other without any purpose of concealment; but also without acknowledgment frequently.

With Lord Bacon, the case is entirely different. He announces himself as the herald of a new philosophy; he promulgates a reform in his own name. "Thus thought Francis of Verulam, and this method he adopted himself, the knowledge of which by his contemporaries and posterity, he deems of interest to themselves."† In the whole range of literature and philosophy there is no more lofty utterance. It is the tone of a monarch, and might have been issued with the sign manual of a king, and under the broad seal of the sovereign. It sounds like the decree of an autocrat, or the voice of a sole, self-sufficient legislator. Whether this haughtiness of expression should be admired as the fruit of sublime confidence, or censured as the strut of arrogant pretension, will depend very much

* Op. Maj., Ps. VI, cap. i, p. 337.

† "Franciscus de Verulamio sic cogitavit, talemque apud se rationem instituit, quam viventibus et posteris notam fieri, ipsorum interesse putavit."

upon the decision which may be given to the question, whether Francis Bacon was the discoverer and founder of the system he promulgated—whether he was the author of what he thought, or merely the sonorous mouthpiece of other men, whose names he left to languish in cold obscurity. That he intended to proclaim himself the author of these doctrines is evident both from his manner of publishing them, and from his repeated censures of Aristotle. But that he had been anticipated by Roger Bacon in nearly everything that was most distinctive in the double forms of the same identical philosophy, cannot be doubted after the copious illustrations given in this essay. That he borrowed directly and consciously from him is our own private conclusion; and that the forced loan amounted to plagiarism, and was levied, like one of James I.'s voluntary gifts from his people, forcibly and without acknowledgment, is also our conviction, though we will not demand from the public an absolute verdict to this effect. But we do claim that the highest honors which have been assigned to Francis Bacon are due to Roger Bacon and his cotemporaries, and we do assert that the friar has been as harshly and unjustly dealt with by the Lord Chancellor of Nature, as Aubrey and Egerton and the other suitors in the Court of Equity were handled by the Lord High Chancellor of England.

The claim of Lord Bacon to be regarded as the inventor, not of the inductive process, which is an absurdity that Mr. Macaulay has been absurd enough to impugn, but to be the inventor, promulgator, or sponsor of the inductive method, and of experimentation, is preposterous. Roger Bacon, more than any other single individual, is entitled to that credit, though the Arabians, the alchemists, Albertus Magnus, and others, had preceded him, and though Aristotle himself had both preached the doctrine and illustrated the practice in his own investigations. A full century before Francis Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci, a poet, a painter, an architect, a sculptor, an engineer, a mathematician, and a philosopher, had declared induction to be the only sure method in natural science: "*dobbiamo cominciare dall'esperienza, e per mezzo di questo scopirne la ragione.*" So again: "*questo é il methodo da osservarsi nella ricerca de' fenomeni della natura.*"*

De Maistre has amused himself at the expense of Bacon and the secret society of select philosophers congregated at Paris, as if this was an association of atheists and illuminati—as if, indeed, it was an unquestioned reality, instead of being probably a fiction, like the House of Solomon in the New Atlantis. But if it were the repre-

* Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii, Pt. II, § vi, p. 661, ed. Bohn.

sentation of a real assemblage in which Francis Bacon himself had in aforetime participated, and from which he had derived some of his ideas, it would be more reasonable to regard it as a society of alchemists and students of nature, for these pursuits were combined, and were actively and secretly prosecuted at that time, which was, indeed, the most brilliant age of alchemy. But, however this may be, the passage in which this Parisian coterie is introduced, is a memorable one. Lord Bacon distinctly announces that he meditates "a renovation of philosophy;" he as distinctly states that he had no associates in this work. "I have not even a person with whom I can converse without reserve on such subjects, none at least in whose converse I can explain myself, and whet my purpose."* Yet his interlocutor adds, that "others have also at heart such subjects." Is it not strange that there is no intimation of the previous and similar labors of Roger Bacon, no admission of the analogous inquiries and the congenerous conclusions of other inquirers?

The services of Lord Bacon in advancing, illuminating, and especially in popularizing scientific studies are immense. They are more brilliant than Roger Bacon's, and they were rendered in a more propitious time; but they are not equal to them, nor could they have been achieved, unless he had gone before to lighten the way with his torch. The light and the guide are both unacknowledged by him whom they illuminated. Yet justice will yet be done to the fame of Roger Bacon, and his star will pale the fires of his rival and namesake. A recent scientific writer of some eminence pays this just compliment to the poor Franciscan friar, "*pauperculus ego*," as he calls himself:

"Roger Bacon, the vastest intellect that England has produced, studied nature as a natural philosopher rather than as a chemist, and the extraordinary discoveries he made in those branches of science are familiarly known; the rectification of the errors committed in the Julian Calendar with regard to the solar year; the physical analysis of the action of lenses and convex glasses; the invention of spectacles for the aged; that of achromatic lenses; the theory and perhaps the first construction of the telescope. From the principles and laws laid down or partially apprehended by him, a system of unanticipated facts was sure to spring, as he himself remarked; nevertheless, his inquiries into chemical phenomena have not been without fruit for us. He carefully studied the properties of saltpeter, and if, in opposition to the ordinary opinion, he did not discover gunpowder, which had been explicitly described by Marcus Græceus fifty years before, he improved its preparation, by teaching the mode of purifying saltpeter by first dissolving the salt in water and then crystallizing it. He also called attention to the chemical action of air in combustion."†

* Redargutio Philosophiarum. Bacon's Works, vol. xi, p. 437.

† Figuier, L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes, Part I, chap. iv, pp. 80, 81.

And, as we have already remarked, he seems to have suspected the polarization of light.

Where are the actual scientific discoveries of Francis Bacon which can be compared to this brilliant array? There are none. The philosophical theories of the two are identical, only one is barely indicated, the other luminously expanded and magnificently expressed. The superb motto of Francis Bacon, "*Aut viam inveniam, aut faciam*," is a delusion; he neither invented nor made the road he traveled; he followed in the path beaten by the footsteps of his namesake, to whom alone it would be appropriate to apply such a device as this, which itself seems imitated from a straggling verse of a lost Greek tragedy:

ἰδίᾳς ὁδοῦς ζητοῦσαι φιλόπονοι φύσεις.⁹

ART. II.—BRITISH METHODISM AND SLAVERY.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

MR. WESLEY'S "Thoughts on Slavery," in 1774, produced a wonderful effect in the connection. The preachers entered fully into his views; and probably it had no small influence in stimulating the natural ardor of Dr. Coke against slavery in his first visit to America. Partly from reading it and partly from conversation with the preachers, the Methodists everywhere became fixed in their enmity against the slave-trade; and public discussions in the nation confirmed them in their aversion. The peculiar sympathy awakened for the poor blacks made the West India Mission for more than half a century the most popular, as it has been the most successful, of all our missions. And when in the end the feeling of the connection was roused against slavery itself, the religious interest so long cherished for the slave, quickened the zeal for his deliverance from legal bondage. In 1778, Mr. Wesley commenced our first periodical, "The Arminian Magazine." In that work, several articles and facts bearing on slavery and the slave-trade were inserted from time to time; and as it was very much read among the Methodists, the subject was continually kept before their mind. In 1787 Mr. Wesley again published "Thoughts on Slavery," concerning which he thus writes to one of his correspondents:

⁹ Agathon. Incert. Fabb. Fragm., xiii, (7.) Fragm. Trag. Græc. Ed. Didot.

"Whatever assistance I can give those generous men who join to oppose that execrable trade, I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the '*Thoughts on Slavery*,' and dispersed them to every part of England. But there will be vehement opposition made, both by slave merchants and slaveholders; and they are mighty men: but our comfort is, He that dwelleth on high is mightier."

Wilberforce had now become the acknowledged leader of the abolition movement. Mr. Wesley's celebrity and known sentiments induced him to seek an interview with him, which proved highly satisfactory. He thus briefly relates it: "February 24, 1789. I called on John Wesley, a fine old fellow." With his brother Charles, Mr. Wilberforce had formed an acquaintance some three years before. "I went," says he, "I think in 1786, to see Mrs. Hannah More, and when I came into the room Charles Wesley rose from the table, around which a numerous party sat at tea, and coming forward to me, solemnly gave me his blessing. I was scarcely ever more affected. Such was the effect of his manner and appearance that it altogether overset me, and I burst into tears, unable to restrain myself." That blessing of Charles Wesley, and the anti-slavery efforts of John, show how deeply both the Wesleys were interested in that cause to which the life of Wilberforce was consecrated. But perhaps nothing had so powerful an influence on the Methodist body as the almost dying letter of Mr. John Wesley, written to Mr. Wilberforce only six days before his death. It is as follows:

"February 24, 1791.

"My dear Sir,—Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius contra mundum, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils; but, if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? O be not weary in well-doing. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up, may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of,

"Dear sir, your affectionate servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

A short time also before his death, he issued the fifth edition of his "*Thoughts on Slavery*." These two things conjoined, Mr. Wesley's last pamphlet, and his last letter, occasioned the abolition cause to be as it were stereotyped on the Methodist mind; so that the members of his society were constituted en masse, a body of Christian opponents to the anti-Christian slave-trade. He bequeathed to them by his dying acts the guardianship of the sacred cause of freedom.

That same year an occurrence took place which was like affixing a seal to his legacy, and thereby rendering it imperative and unalterable. At the conference of 1791, the first that assembled after Mr. Wesley's death, Mr. Wilberforce sent a letter to the conference, accompanied with a present of one hundred and two volumes of "The Evidence that appeared before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, relative to the Slave-Trade." One was for each member of the hundred preachers who legally constituted the conference, and two additional copies for the president and the secretary. In his letter he complimented them on their piety and zeal, and entreated them to use their influence in getting petitions signed and presented to Parliament, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade. The conference sent him a polite answer, in which they promised to comply with his request. From a principle of conscience they entered heartily into the work, and were instrumental in promoting what appeared to be the general sense of the country respecting the slave-trade, namely: "That it ought to be abolished." The letter of Wilberforce was connected with the plan of future operations on which he had resolved. Finding that he failed to carry his measures in Parliament, notwithstanding the eloquent support he received from Pitt and Fox, the two leading statesmen of the age, so strong was the slave interest in both houses, backed by wealthy merchants and West India proprietors in many cities, he determined to make a more general appeal to the conscience of the nation, that he might move the legislature by means of the constituency, and the force of the popular will. By such an opportune resolve, at such a crisis of Methodist history, he was sure of their united zeal. Petitions soon came pouring into Parliament against the slave-trade, and they were renewed from year to year, in accumulated numbers, till the public demand of the people could be no longer withstood. And although the Methodists at that time acted more in connection with their fellow-citizens than as a distinct body, or connectionally, scarcely a Methodist, whether elector or not, neglected to affix his signature to these petitions. In no county in England had the Methodists so large a number of electors as in Yorkshire, for which county Wilberforce was member, and from their heartiness in the cause of freedom, they uniformly gave him their votes, which contributed to the security of his return for the largest constituency in the kingdom; Yorkshire not being then divided into the East and West Riding, as on the passage of the Reform Bill at a later period. He was therefore the most popular candidate and representative for that large county for twenty-eight years, during which time there had been five or six elections.

This is an unequalled triumph in the Parliamentary Annals of Great Britain. Once in particular he was opposed by two of the most powerful noble families in the kingdom, whose wealth could purchase all the votes (alas! not a few) that were buyable, and sway others who found that to serve them on such an occasion would be to their interest; but Wilberforce, without a bribe, and without compromising his principles or his character as an avowed religious man, won the day in spite of all opposition. "I have great reason," says he, "to be thankful for the kindness with which I was received. Indeed, I can only ascribe it to that gracious Providence which can control at will the affections of men. I never took pains, though feeling the deepest sense of my constituent's kindness, to cultivate an interest; nay, more, I have been very deficient in all personal attentions, owing to my health requiring me to live as quietly and regularly as I can, during the recess from Parliament. I never attend races or even assizes, which members for Yorkshire before me used to do; and yet I have been elected five times, and never with more unanimity than the last. It really shows that there is still some public spirit among us; and that if a member of Parliament will act an honest and independent part, his constituents (such at least of them as are themselves independent) will not desert him." This was written in 1806, and his renewed success as the favorite candidate for Yorkshire foreshadowed the downfall of slavery advocacy in Parliament.

Immediately after his re-election he completed and published an earnest pamphlet on the Slave-trade, which he had prepared with great care. It had immense success. "Its effect," say his biographers, "was greatly strengthened by its mild and generous temper toward the defenders of the system" he sought to overthrow. Its influence was considerable even in the House of Lords, where some of the largest West India proprietors occupied a seat. Several times had he been defeated; but thrice Wilberforce, with varied majorities, carried his motion in the Commons, which was always in substance the same, embodying three arguments, namely, that the slave-trade was "contrary to *humanity, justice, and sound policy*;" but when he succeeded in the Lower House, his motion failed or was postponed in the House of Peers. But after his last return for Yorkshire, so loud was the voice of the people, so united and firm their determination, that it passed both houses; and, says Myles, the Methodist chronicler, "on Wednesday, the 25th of March, in Passion week, 1807, the king, by commission, gave his royal assent to a bill for the entire abolition of the slave-trade, after the 1st of January, 1808." It was the religious influence, the Christianity of the nation, that

after many a hard-fought battle won the day. Among the centers of that influence, Methodism was very considerable, if not the chief; for though less conspicuous than some other bodies, it was more energetic than most; and it wrought wonders by means of its diffusiveness among the masses, its uniformity of principle, its oneness of action, its heartiness of co-operation, and its Divine power with God. The long-continued interest which the Methodists had felt in the spiritual labors of their missionaries made them now, above other people, deeply concerned to prevent any increase or prolongation of the wrongs of Africa.

III. We now come to the third period, from the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, to the extinction of slavery in 1834.

In the Life of Mr. Wilberforce it is remarked that, "so early as the year 1780, the slave-trade had attracted the attention of Mr. Burke," a man for greatness of mind, and splendid eloquence, never surpassed by the senator of any nation. "He had even proceeded to sketch out a code of regulations which provided for its immediate mitigation and ultimate suppression. But after mature consideration he had abandoned the attempt, from the conviction that the strength of the West India body would defeat the utmost efforts of his powerful party, and cover them with ruinous unpopularity. Nor could any mere political alliance have been ever more likely to succeed. The great interests with which the battle must be fought could be resisted only by the general moral feeling of the nation. There was then no example upon record of any such achievement, and in entering upon the struggle it was of the utmost moment that its leader should be one who could combine, and so render irresistible, the scattered sympathies of the religious classes." This is a highly valuable quotation, not only because it recognizes the importance of true religion, but also because it shows *how* the religion of any country must be employed to insure success. Desultory efforts of a detached kind will end in disappointment; "the scattered sympathies" of righteous men must be collected into one focus; and then their concentrated energies will never fail to accomplish a great object on which their hearts are set, conducive to the national honor, and the general welfare of mankind. Of course this is not to be done by mere political tactics, so as to make the churches of Christ subservient to the aggrandizement of any political party; for that were to damage the Churches without benefiting the nation; on the contrary, this plan proposes the laying aside of party objects and sectional differences, for the sake of insuring, by religious principles and religious means, the enactment of righteous laws, or the nullifying of such as are unjust. In that way the Church collectively

becomes "the salt of the land; a city set on a hill that cannot be hid." To adopt the parliamentary abolition phrases, the Church pronounces in favor of "humanity, justice, and [consequently] sound policy." No other object would have moved the Methodists from the death of Wesley to the Abolition Act of 1807; and by it alone were they guided in their subsequent movements against slavery.

Interwoven with the events narrated from 1791 to 1807, there are two facts that should not be suppressed; it is essential to a fair and truthful representation of Methodistic action in regard to slavery that they should be recorded. Different opinions will no doubt be held as to some points stated. Mild and moderate men will admire a commendable prudence, adapting itself to circumstances; men of a sanguine and somewhat choleric temperament will reprehend such prudence as time-serving servility and inconsistency. We have already seen that the Conference of 1791 shared in the commonly prevailing sentiment that "slavery ought to be abolished," meaning thereby the slave-trade; that they engaged to aid Wilberforce, and that the same engagement was faithfully maintained. But the same Conference sent no resolutions to their missionaries on so delicate a subject; they were left to pursue the even tenor of their way in simply and solely preaching the gospel of Christ; and the remarkable case of Mr. Brownell, quoted in a former page, shows how well it was for them and their work that they were never advised to move in abolition affairs. By that same Conference, Dr. Coke was specially designated "their appointed delegate to the West Indies." The doctor was secretary of that Conference, and of course received equally with the president his *two* copies of Wilberforce's select committee volumes; nor would he be at all inferior to his brethren in earnestness for the abolition movement. Yet, with this powerful stimulant to his natural ardor, when he arrived in the West Indies, he did not allow his zeal to carry him out on this subject with the same impetuosity as in Virginia in 1785. In Grenada we find him enjoying his usual friendship with the Rev. Mr. Dent, an excellent clergymen, who was exceedingly kind to our missionaries; indeed, he was a father to them as long as he lived; and "through whose assistance and fostering care," Dr. Coke's biographer testifies, "religion continued to flourish in the midst of surrounding vice." Yet that clergyman had a few domestic slaves, and *actually went to purchase another while the doctor was his guest*. This was about fifteen years before the Abolition Act, and *within two of the above-mentioned Conference*. Dr. Coke himself thus relates the matter, nor does he appear at the time to have uttered any expression of disapprobation:

"Mr. Dent, who, with his amiable lady, lives quite a retired life, thought his family stood in need of another servant girl. *He therefore went one day to a sale of negroes, and fixing his eye on a girl about ten years of age, said to her, 'Will you come with me?' The poor child, who was totally unacquainted with the English language, seemed nevertheless to understand him, and nodded her head. He then conversed with the proprietor about some other negroes, but afterward, recollecting himself, he turned around again to the girl, and said to her, 'Well, will you come with me?' The little naked child immediately threw her arms around him, and burst into tears. His heart was exceedingly touched, and he purchased her and brought her home. She was immediately well clothed; and before I left the island could speak several words of English, and had begun to sew.*"

This is a singular narrative, and might give rise to many reflections, such as, How came so young a child to be severed from her parents? etc., etc.; but it shows the best side of slavery, and the varied circumstances in which the missionaries met with it, and the impossibility of carrying out on mission ground the earnest abolition principles that were so effectually worked out at home.

The second noticeable fact is, that up to 1807 a few of the missionaries themselves were holders of slaves; it is presumed not by purchase, or rarely so; but through marrying persons in the colonies who possessed them, either by gift or inheritance. In the memorable year of abolition the Conference took this matter up; probably at the suggestion of Dr. Coke, though he must have known the fact some years before. The Conference of 1807 passed the following resolutions on the subject; drawn up by the doctor as secretary that year:

"1. The Conference determines, that none of our preachers employed in the West Indies shall be at liberty to marry any person, who will not previously emancipate, in the legal methods, all the slaves of whom she may be possessed; and if any of our brethren there, already married, have, by such marriage, or in any other way, become proprietors of slaves, we require those brethren to take immediate and effectual steps for their emancipation.

"2. The Secretary of our Mission Committee in London is directed to send a copy of this Minute to every preacher in the West Indies, and to require a report next year of the manner in which it has been obeyed."

Some who learn for the first time of the necessity of such an investigation will feel, perhaps, not only surprise, but indignation; severe censure, however, must not be passed on a few brethren for conduct which in the present day would be deemed quite inexcusable. Indeed, the Conference inflicted neither reproof nor censure, but only insisted on a correction of the evil. Men who are suddenly placed in a new position, with a community different to any they have been associated with before, are apt, in certain circumstances, without much reflection, to fall in with their usages. We have seen that the father of Methodism in the West Indies was an

extensive planter, and the master of many slaves. Baxter, who succeeded Gilbert, and knew him to be a Christian slaveholder, might, innocently to him, all circumstances considered, fall into the same error, and procure a few domestic servants, while he was employed in the dock-yard at English Harbor; especially as it is difficult then to get free servants at all. It is presumed that he sustained the same relation to them after he entered the ministry, and up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1806, for it is said of him that he was "an indulgent master to his servants." The Rev. William Warrener, the first ordained missionary in 1786, possessed domestic servants, after the custom of the country; and a slave was reckoned as his property so late as 1816, long after his return to England. Perhaps he reaped no advantages by it, in the shape of wages or in any other way, still she was legally his slave. We were present in the district meeting when a formal complaint to that effect was entered on the Minutes, and transmitted to England; and her manumission papers were signed and transmitted to her before the meeting of the ensuing year. That was the last slave-holding of Wesleyan missionaries, and that, for several years, was but nominal; for practically the resolutions of 1807 brought the evil to a speedy termination. That year three of the brethren refused compliance with the new regulations, as the slaves were considered to belong to their wives, on the ground that the connection made no adequate provision for widows and families; and therefore they resigned their office as missionaries. They were all senior men, and had been of irreproachable character, and had even taken the lead in the work of missions in those islands. We knew the last survivor of their number, and have often worshiped with him in the sanctuary. In those commendable and fitting regulations of the Conference, although they only related to missionaries, we may mark the progress of truth in the world. They were not aimed at the slave-trade, which was now abolished, but at slavery itself. In fact, they are *the first step in advance of that act*; although a movement in the same direction soon afterward commenced in England. Here Methodism led the way.

The carrying out of these resolutions, however, as an integral part of the future constitution of Methodism in regard to the missionaries and slavery, occasioned quite a sensation in the West Indies. The retiring missionaries were estimable men; and, besides their relatives, had many friends in the islands, who naturally considered them injured and ill-treated men; moreover, the general structure of West India society disposed the community at large to sympathize with them. For a season the other missionaries were

placed in a disadvantageous position as to public prejudice, for those resolutions were considered as involving the virtual condemnation of all slavery, which indeed could not be denied, however cautious the missionaries might be of avoiding offenses by confining themselves to their spiritual work, without interfering with the civil condition of the people. Never had ministers more need of remembering the Scripture maxim, "I wisdom dwell with prudence." Nothing would have been easier than for them, through the medium of correspondence with their own committee, or with other parties, to have furnished statements and facts that would have been of great service to the abolitionists; but such a forfeiture of honor by acting contrary to their own avowed principles would have ultimately answered no good end; it would have exposed them to just reproach, and brought them into collision with those whom they wished to conciliate, and, by hindering the Gospel, would have retarded the progress of freedom. The course they pursued was truly Wesleyan, for it was carrying out in a manner befitting their position, both toward master and slaves, the maxim of Mr. Wesley: "The friends of all, and enemies of none." If sometimes ungenerously suspected as acting the part of spies, no one could ever produce the least evidence of such mean conduct, for in truth there was no foundation for such suspicions. They were the honest men they professed to be, and eventually verified the truth of the inspired declaration, "Discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee."

But however discreet, the anti-slavery resolutions of the conference, so closely following the abolition of the slave-trade, would probably, at that initiating crisis, have occasioned a general storm of persecution against all the missionaries, if it had not happened a few years before, through the good providence of God, that the most irrefragable proofs had been given of the value of their labors, politically considered, in seasons of extraordinary colonial peril and danger. We quote from *Drew's Life of Dr. Coke*, only adding that we ourselves have heard the same things confirmed in the West Indies by those who were eye-witnesses of the occurrences:

"It was not long after the commencement of the late war with France, [about 1800] that the President of the Council for the Island of Tortola, who represented the governor, received information that the enemy were at that time fitting out an expedition at Guadaloupe, against that island. Being aware that the military force in Tortola was insufficient for its defense, he was reduced to the momentous alternative either to surrender to the invaders, or to arm the negroes to oppose them. It was in the latter he could find his only resource, and this was an expedient to which he even trembled to resort. Such, however, was his confidence in Mr. Turner, the missionary, and so strong the conviction of his influence over the negroes, that he sent for him, and plainly stated their perilous condition. Relying on Mr. Turner's acquaint-

ance with the disposition of the slaves, he inquired whether they might be armed with safety. Mr. Turner was willing to vouch for the loyalty of those who were connected with the Methodists. Confiding in this, and in the influence of their example, [on the rest of the negroes,] he declared himself willing to arm the slaves, upon condition that Mr. Turner would accompany them in their military services. At first the latter conceived a compliance with this request to be inconsistent with his station as a minister of the Gospel. But finding the case to be urgent, and that the loss or preservation of the island probably depended upon his decision, he consented to the condition. The negroes were accordingly armed and trained, so far as time would allow. Within about a fortnight the French squadron arrived. But finding, as they approached the shore, a more formidable body to oppose them than they had been taught to expect, they first hesitated, and after cutting two merchant ships out of the bay, retired without making any attempt to land. During this time the negroes behaved with the utmost order, and, when directed, laid down their arms, and repaired to their accustomed employment."

The knowledge of such praiseworthy fidelity on the part of Christian slaves, and of their influence over the rest of the negroes, produced a vast effect in the other islands. "Shortly after, the Governor of the Leeward Islands sent a request to the Methodist missionaries in Antigua and St. Christopher's, that they would make a return of all the negroes in their societies who were capable of bearing arms, as he had received satisfactory information of their loyalty and fidelity. A list was made out; and the negroes so returned were immediately armed, and incorporated among the defenders of their respective islands." Soon after these things "a plot was laid among the negroes in the Island of St. Vincent, to rise in one general insurrection, and murder all the white inhabitants. Not long before this plot was to have been carried into execution, some intimation of their designs was communicated to a negro belonging to the Methodist society. The negro went immediately and imparted the information to the missionary. Both immediately repaired to the governor, who, taking decisive measures for the security of the island, prevented the consequences of this intended massacre." Here are facts abundantly proving that, much as religious slaves value freedom, they will never secure it in an irreligious way. Christianity undoubtedly prepares them for liberty; but in the meantime it is a mighty conservator of the lives, property, and temporal interests of the master, till the good desired can be peaceably and lawfully confirmed by a wise and equitable administration.

Such decisive evidences of fidelity, the fruit of missionary instruction, neutralized in part the hostility awakened by the conference resolutions; and had there been no deeper cause of vexation it would have died away, and the missionaries would have been spared those subsequent bitter persecutions which many of them had to

endure. But slavery in the West Indies, as everywhere else, was a hotbed of licentiousness; and the moral teaching of the missionary was a continual source of annoyance to those who "took pleasure in unrighteousness." Methodism was opposed to the common practice of concubinage. Admission into society was refused to those who lived in that sin. From first to last that rule was unflinchingly maintained. Hence it was that awakened colored females, many of them highly respectable, resisted all worldly solicitations and advantages; and others renounced a comfortable house and home, that they might become united to the Church of Christ, and secure the salvation of their souls. It was this more than anything else, that stirred up dire enmity against the missionaries; although it was more convenient to allege dangerous and seditious doctrines, which, it was contended, in opposition to manifold proofs to the contrary, the missionaries taught, exposing the colonists thereby to ruin. Yet such fears were in many instances practically refuted; for it was commonly found that the trusty negroes on the plantation were selected from the members of religious societies. Our best class-leaders were generally persons in whom their masters placed the greatest confidence, which was a singular method of demonstrating the dangerous tendencies of Methodism.

Turning then from the missionaries, who confined themselves to the last to the sole prosecution of their one object, let us mark the movements of the Methodist-connection in Great Britain. When the agitation against the slave-trade commenced, its leaders did not contemplate the abolition of slavery. It was rather their aim to prevent an increase of the evil than to extinguish it; and to that effort they would not probably have been aroused, but for the atrocities of the trade. Yet there were a few discerning politicians who foresaw from the beginning that the termination of the one would lead to the extinction of the other. In 1806, the year before the last great struggle for abolishing the slave-trade was successful in both Houses of Parliament, Earl Westmoreland objected in the Upper House that "the abolition of the trade would lead to emancipation of the slaves in our colonies." In reply, Lord Holland did not deny the probability of such a result, "which," he added, "in its due time, would be highly desirable." Bishop Horsley thought so too, for, said he, "though the slaves in the West Indies were even to be pampered with delicacies, or to be put to rest on a bed of roses, they could not be happy, for—a slave would be still a slave." And when the bill passed the Commons the following year, and finally, "Earl Percy wished that a clause might be inserted, by which all the children of slaves, born after January 1810, should be made

free." And Clarkson, the celebrated author of "The History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade," closes his volumes with these remarkable words:

"*A new hope rises to our view.* Who knows but that emancipation, like a beautiful plant, may, in its due season, rise out of the ashes of the abolition of the slave-trade, and that, when its own intrinsic value shall be known, the seed of it may be planted in other lands? And looking at the subject in this point of view, we cannot but be struck with the wonderful concurrence of events as previously necessary for this purpose, namely, that two nations, England and America, the mother and the child, should, *in the same month of the same year*, have abolished this impious traffic; nations which at this moment have more than a million of subjects within their jurisdiction to partake of the blessing; and one of which, on account of her local situation and increasing power, is likely in time to give, if not law, at least a tone to the manners and customs of the great continent on which she is situated."

Similar opinions were entertained by Mr. Wesley; hence, though he wrote against the slave-trade, his tract was entitled "*Thoughts on Slavery*;" and it is evident that he had the destruction of both in view. Soon after the act of abolition a new organization was formed, called "The African Institution," to watch the working of the Abolition Bill, and the carrying out of the work of mercy and justice now begun. This was the more necessary as the anti-abolitionists were still violent, and even threatened the repeal of that measure. To this new movement the Methodists lent their aid, publishing in their Magazine its first report, and occasional extracts of proceedings. The cause of freedom never slept; in one shape or other it was continually kept before the Methodist community and the public mind. A new mission to Sierra Leone contributed much to this result. It was a gracious Providence which caused that settlement to be made on the West Coast of Africa some years before the act of abolition passed. By such an arrangement, when slave-ships were afterward seized by British cruisers, a colony with an incipient civilization was prepared for the reception of the re-captured negroes, who, instead of being thrown loose upon the world, found protection and a home on the shores of their own continent. It was an abolitionist colony, as the name of the capital—Free Town—sufficiently indicates; and but for its existence, philanthropy would scarcely have known how to have disposed of the liberated slaves. It was in 1811 that the first Wesleyan missionary was sent to that coast. The mission has been very successful, and is now greatly extended. Exciting information has been communicated from thence at our missionary meetings, keeping alive, though but in an incidental way, Methodist enthusiasm in the cause of liberty; for there also, as in the West Indies, it was the salvation of souls which employed the time and energies of the

missionaries. Still interesting facts were occasionally announced; such as that a condemned slave-ship had been broken up, and part of her timbers employed in building a chapel for the re-captured negroes; or that in such a chapel the more polished parts of the cabin of a slaver had been worked up to form the communion rails; when the cheers that followed such announcement, even in the sanctuary, might have told all the world how much the Methodists love freedom, and how thoroughly they hate slavery. Our missions, wherever planted, made us hearty in the cause of freedom; one country connected itself with another, nor is it possible to determine in how many ways an intense interest in the liberated Africans wrought in the Methodist community a growing concern for the emancipation of the same race who were in bonds in our colonies.

In process of time the African Institution was followed by a more extended and comprehensive organization, designated "The Anti-Slavery Society," whose avowed object was the complete abolition of slavery in every part of the British dominions, at the earliest period consistent with the safety and well-being of all parties concerned. What originated and gave strength to this society was a more complete acquaintance with the inherent and inseparable evils of slavery, which it was found impossible to control, or extensively ameliorate and modify. Besides, a calm investigation produced a conviction, which no sophistry of argument could shake, that substantially there lay the same objections against slavery as against the slave-trade, and that both were contrary to "justice, humanity, and sound policy." It was not, therefore, a political, but a moral bond, which held together the members of this sacred confederation. Politicians, a cunning generation in their way, who endeavor to make capital of everybody and everything for their own purposes, were never able to turn them aside from their object, and if their proffered and valuable services were accepted, no compromise enabled them to make political gain for themselves in return. Party was eschewed; parties might come to them, but they went not over to parties; their cause was too high and too holy for merchandise; they sought to emancipate the bodies of men from thrall, that slaves might gain a higher freedom still; that when the shackles were gone, along with freedom of limb they might inherit freedom of thought, of speech, of intellect, of soul. Wilberforce was slow and cautious in his further resolves; but of him in 1818, his biographers say, "a fuller view of the secret iniquities of the colonial system too surely convinced him of the inefficiency of former measures; and now, therefore, for the first time, the word *emancipation* occurs among his secret counsels." Accordingly he took his share in this new enterprise, both in

parliament and in the nation; but, as it advanced, increasing years and declining health compelled him to transfer the onerous duties of leadership to another, whom God had raised up to complete what he had begun. He addressed a letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., in which he constituted that gentleman "his parliamentary executor;" for such were the terms he most emphatically employed. Still the emancipation movement was not conducted with precipitation; for four years later, in a noble speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Buxton stated that "their object was by ameliorating regulations, to advance slowly toward the period when those unhappy beings might exchange their degraded state of slavery for that of a free and industrious peasantry."

Mr. Wilberforce had long known, as we have seen, the value of religious men; and he had had large experience of the importance of the Methodist connection, when its energies were called into action. He tells us, therefore, that "being at a loss to know" what steps to take in this perplexing question, "he sounded the Wesleyan Methodists, but found that they, though sometimes in advance of others, were still for leaving to their masters all improvements in the condition of the slaves." It is probable that he chiefly consulted Joseph Butterworth, Esq., who was at that time member of Parliament, and for whom Wilberforce had a high esteem; he designates him in his correspondence "Honest Butterworth." This gentleman was brother-in-law to Dr. Adam Clarke, and also general treasurer to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. His influence, therefore, was considerable in the Methodist community; but his official position, and his knowledge of the real liberality and kindness of some West India gentlemen in supporting our missions and encouraging the missionaries, would naturally induce caution, and lead him to contemplate the accomplishment of the desired object in the gentlest way. At that time also, the Rev. Joseph Taylor, a man of sober thought and sound judgment, who had been himself several years a West India missionary, was resident secretary at the Mission House; and his opinion would have great weight with those whom Wilberforce consulted on that occasion. But in spite of the moderation with which the Methodists desired to proceed, the abettors of slavery became in many instances so violently outrageous and persecuting, *that they themselves broke up slavery*, and convinced all honest men that a system which countenanced the perpetration of such atrocities as demolishing chapels, tarring and feathering, and then attempting to set on fire unoffending missionaries, who were in truth their best friends, and casting others of them into loathsome dungeons, *could never be made workable in civilized*

society, and must be therefore utterly overthrown. It came to be not merely a contest between freedom and slavery, but of barbarism against civilization. Even Butterworth himself became "a sturdy abolitionist," and was reckoned as such in the House of Commons. From love for their missionaries and the work in which they were engaged, the entire body of Methodists espoused their cause, and were converted into earnest abolitionists; and from that time they never slackened their hands till the law of the land declared, Slavery shall be no more.

Of the original slave-trade abolition committee, nine, some say ten, out of the twelve who composed it, were belonging to the Society of Friends. They had now the further honor of commencing the war against slavery, by petition to the House of Commons, the first presented, which Mr. Wilberforce introduced on the 19th of March, 1823. After a little more than ten years' struggle, the glorious victory was won. Mr. Canning, who was then prime minister, "had been a steady and consistent abolitionist" of the slave-trade; "but this new question involved him as a minister in many difficulties, and the influence of personal attachment gave his powerful mind a strong but secret bias to the wishes of the planters." He was, besides, member for Liverpool, where the West India interest ruled; "and hence he was anxious to put this trying question aside." But the subject was now fairly launched in the House of Commons, so that in a few weeks after, Mr. Buxton brought forward a substantial motion, declaring that "*Slavery was repugnant to Christianity and to the British Constitution.*" Those pithy terms contained the substance of all the debatable points from year to year; they were accepted also as the rallying maxims of the abolitionists, which their antagonists could not overthrow; and they were adopted as the grand principles which combined the masses, either as Christians or as Englishmen, in one vast phalanx for the defeat of slavery. The publications of Methodism show that the Christian view was most predominant with the Methodists, as might be expected of a religious people; yet were they not uninfluenced by the latter consideration; for genuine religion does not extinguish, but refine and exalt, the noblest patriotism. Mr. Canning endeavored to stave off the evil day by promising reforms, such as putting an end to the flogging of females, the removal of the drivers' cruel whip from the plantations, and the abolishing of Sunday work and Sunday markets; but those fair promises came to nothing; slavery would not submit as long as the breath of life remained in it. And so the decree went forth, "It shall die." Never could history write with greater truth than in this instance, "The voice of the people is the voice of God."

The last public service which Mr. Wilberforce rendered the cause of emancipation, was the occupancy of the chair at the anniversary of the Slavery Abolition Society, May 15, 1830. "All the old friends of the society gathered around his enfeebled frame, when, with a weakened voice, he declared his conviction that we ought to aim at producing throughout the whole country a just sense of our crime in maintaining so cruel a system as slavery." About this time the Rev. Richard Watson became an avowed emancipationist, and, at the request of the committee, took an active part in the promotion of the cause. At first he hesitated, on account of his official position as Wesleyan missionary secretary, fearing lest his agency should involve the missionaries in trouble. But it had from the beginning been maintained that there was a marked difference, intelligible enough to everybody, between the *special* calling of the missionaries to preach Christ to the negro population, and the *general* right, and duty if they thought so, of Christians at home, to oppose slavery to the utmost of their power. Time also had made it evident that no amount of voluntary forbearance and conciliation could win over the slaveholders to the cause of freedom. He therefore felt satisfied that now it was not only justifiable, but a positive duty to enter boldly on this new course, from which he never deviated, devoting as much of his time to it as was consistent with his primary engagements as a director of our missions. The preachers perfectly and unanimously concurred in his views; some of the men of renown imitated his example; and their proceedings met with the hearty approval of the whole of the Methodist people; not a single dissentient voice was heard.

From that time especially, so far as Methodism was concerned, slavery was doomed. It had neither friend nor advocate in all our borders. The Conference took up the matter from year to year, and brought it before the societies in the shape of resolutions, or advice, or recommendations. To copy the whole would occupy too much space. As a specimen, comprehending all the rest, we copy the following resolutions, which Mr. Watson moved in conference, in 1830, at Leeds, and which were "adopted with perfect cordiality," with this brief preface:

"The Conference, taking into consideration the laudable efforts which are now making to impress the public with a due sense of the injustice and inhumanity of continuing that system of slavery which exists in many of the colonies of the British crown, and to invite a general application to Parliament, by petition, that such measures may, in its wisdom, be adopted as shall speedily lead to the universal termination of the wrongs inflicted on so large a portion of our fellow-men, resolve as follows:

"1. That, as a body of Christian ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.

"2. That the system of bondage existing in our West India Colonies is marked with characters of peculiar severity and injustice; inasmuch as a great majority of the slaves are doomed to labors inhumanly wasting to health and life, and are exposed to arbitrary, excessive, and degrading punishments, without any effectual protection from adequate and impartially-administered laws.

"3. That the Conference, having long been engaged in endeavoring the instruction and evangelization of the pagan negroes of our West India Colonies, by numerous and expensive missions, supported by the pious liberality of the friends of religion at home, have had painful experience of the unfavorable influence of a state of slavery upon the moral improvement of a class of men most entitled to the sympathy and help of all true Christians; that the patient and devoted men who have labored in the work of negro conversion have too often been made the objects of obloquy and persecution, from that very contempt or fear of the negroes which a system of slavery inspires; that the violent prejudices of caste, founded upon the color of the skin, and nurtured by a state of slavery, and inseparable from it, have opposed the most formidable obstacles to the employment of colored teachers and missionaries, who would otherwise have been called into useful employment, in considerable numbers, as qualified instructors of their fellows; that the general discouragement of slave marriages, and the frequent violent separation of those husbands and wives who have been united in matrimony by missionaries, have served greatly to encourage and perpetuate a grossness of manners which might otherwise have been corrected; that the nearly absolute control of vicious masters, or their agents, over those under their power, is, to a lamentable extent, used for the corrupting of the young, and the polluting of the most hallowed relations of life; that the refusal of the Lord's day to the slave, as a day of rest and religious worship, besides fostering the habit of entire irreligion, limits, and in many cases renders nugatory, every attempt at efficient religious instruction: all which circumstances, more or less felt in each of the colonies, demonstrate the incompatibility of slavery with a general diffusion of the influence of morals and religion, and its necessary association with general ignorance, vice, and wretchedness.

"4. That the preachers assembled in conference feel themselves the more bound to exhort the members of the Methodist societies and congregations at home to unite with their fellow-subjects in presenting their petitions to the next Parliament, to take this important subject into its earliest consideration, because of the interesting relation which exists between them and the numerous Methodist societies in the West Indies, in which are no fewer than twenty-four thousand slaves, who, with their families, have been brought under the influence of Christianity, and who, in so many instances have fully rewarded the charitable toil of those who have applied themselves to promote their spiritual benefit, and whose right to exemption from a state of slavery is, if possible, strengthened by their being partakers with us of "like precious faith," and from their standing in the special relation of "brethren" to all who themselves profess to be Christians.

"5. That the Conference fully concur in those strong moral views of the evil and injustice of slavery which are taken by their fellow-Christians of different denominations, and in the purpose which is so generally entertained of presenting petitions to Parliament from their respective congregations for its speedy and universal abolition; and earnestly recommend it to all the congregations of the Wesleyan Methodists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, to express in this manner, that is, by petitions to both Houses of Parliament

from each congregation, to be signed at its own chapel, and presented as early as possible after the assembling of the next Parliament, their sympathy with an injured portion of their race, and their abhorrence of all those principles on which it is attempted to defend the subjection of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery.

"6. That the Conference still further recommend, in the strongest manner, to such of the members of the Methodist societies as enjoy the elective franchise, that, in this great crisis, when the question is, whether justice and humanity shall triumph over oppression and cruelty, or nearly a million of our fellow-men, many of whom are also our fellow-Christians, shall remain excluded from the rights of humanity, and the privileges of that constitution under which they are born; they will use that solemn trust to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonor which have been brought upon it by a criminal connivance at the oppressions which have so long existed in its colonies, and that, in the elections now on the eve of taking place, they will give their influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support in Parliament the most effectual measures for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies of the British empire."

Those resolutions, as forcible as clear, as irresistible as unimpassioned, at once carried conviction to the understanding and determination to the heart; everybody in Methodism approved of them. It happened also, in the ordainings of Providence, that soon after, that great political measure, the passing of the Reform Bill, took place in the nation. About that movement the Methodists were much divided in sentiment; perhaps the majority of leading minds in the connection were adverse to it; certainly during that struggle the members of society in almost every town and county were divided in their votes. One result, however, of the passing of that bill was, by enlarging the franchise, to augment greatly the number of Methodist voters, and thereby increasing the political strength of Methodism. In regard to this great question of slavery, in some places it doubled or even trebled their power; and however divided as to the Reform Bill, here they were concentrated into one bond of union, so that the first use which many of the new electors made of their privilege was to bring all their influence to bear against slavery. Not one pro-slavery petition went from a Methodist society or congregation; such a thing would not have been tolerated for a moment; in fact no one had the hardihood to propose it. Every Methodist hand that could write signed for freedom; every Methodist voice cried out in unison with the nation, "Let the oppressed go free." It was fitting that a people who had been for half a century nurturing Christian missions among West India slaves should now demand their admission into the full "privileges of that constitution under which they were born." The insertion of those words in the *sixth resolution*, shows that the Conference did not forget to claim for the slaves rights as subjects of the British crown; they had on that ground a right to be born free; while the

long bill of indictments, as we may call it, against slavery, contained in the *third resolution* evinces that it was the Christian rather than the political consideration by which the Methodist mind was swayed. It reminds us of the correctness of the great Edmund Burke's philosophical remark, when he was contemplating certain civil changes for the benefit of the nation: "I depend for success infinitely more on the effect and influence of religion, than upon all else put together." The following analysis, printed by order of the House of Commons, when the struggle was ended, will clearly show the energy put forth by the Methodists, at the close of the contest, in the form of petitions against slavery:

	Petitions.	Signatures.
Presented from the several bodies of Dissenters, (twenty- one in number are enumerated).....}	923	122,978
Wesleyan Methodists.....	1,953	229,426
	2,876	352,404
Other petitions.....	2,194	957,527
Total.....	5,070	1,309,931

From this document it appears that the number of petitions from the Wesleyan Methodists was more than double those of all the other Nonconformist bodies put together; and the number of petitioners also was nearly double; and that the connectional number of both petitions and petitioners was highly respectable in comparison with those of the wealthy and powerful establishment of the Church of England, and such as may have been more immediately associated with it. If the Methodist body had not then a direct representative within the House of Commons, they had a powerful influence without as electors; much more so than when in former years they helped to secure the return of Wilberforce for Yorkshire. That veteran abolitionist well knew the value of their efforts when, at his last public meeting in May, 1830, he "particularly recommended the promoting of petitions to Parliament." The Conference of that year, and subsequently, recommended the same thing to the Methodist congregations; and the numbers just quoted evidence the earnestness of the Methodists in the abolition cause.

Religious zeal for freedom operated powerfully even on the merely political lovers of liberty, and upon the nation at large. The biographer of Buxton correctly remarks: "The outcry against slavery seemed to be rising at once from every corner of the land. Men of all ranks, of all denominations, were joining in the attack. And the House itself, where but a few years before scarcely half a dozen hearty advocates for emancipation could have been numbered, *was now filled with zealous friends of the cause.*" This last sentence tells a tale as to the power of the elective franchise in a free

state; for by means of it the electors had completely new modeled the present House of Commons, and molded it after the national will. And it is of importance to notice how closely connected was the enlargement of British freedom at home with the complete emancipation of the slaves in our colonies. Philosophically examined, it will ever be found that one branch of freedom invariably supports the rest, the civil the religious, the religious the civil, till perfect freedom becomes universal law; while slavery is always encroaching, so that the longer the negro wears his chains, the more powerful will be the usurpation of the rights of freemen, till slavery has become a universal domination; and then follows chaos, civil wars, the dissolution of empires, and universal ruin. Religiously considered, we see that the Gospel is the only hope of the world's liberty; "the leaves of this tree of life are for the healing of the nations." However great the difficulties to be overcome, however long and arduous the struggle, *where there is a free Bible slavery must come to an end.* This was aptly, though undesignedly symbolized, when, on the day of emancipation, the British and Foreign Bible Society gave a copy of the New Testament to every free man, woman, and child, who could read the word of God.

The new and reformed Parliament, moved by its own zeal, and stimulated by so vast a multitude of petitions, and led on by a government not unwilling to meet the national demand, soon brought the matter to a glorious decision in a manner which made stern justice herself smile most benignantly on mercy. The British Parliament resolved that emancipation should be *accompanied by a grant from the national treasury of twenty millions sterling*, to be equitably distributed among those who held slaves in the British colonies. This sum was not voted as a bribe, or as a dole of benevolence to the planters, but as, all things considered, no more than a just though liberal compensation to them, considering the share of guilt the nation had incurred by introducing, and for so long a season upholding the unrighteous system of slavery. Compensation to the injured Africans was a simple impossibility; they never desired that, and were only too grateful to receive their long-withheld right of liberty. At length *the negroes' chartered bill of rights*, having passed through both Houses of Parliament, received the royal signature on the 28th of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three of the world's redemption by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By that signature the freedom of the king himself was promoted. He was constituted the freest of rulers, and therefore the greatest, whether among monarchies or republics; because, controlled by the law and Christianity of the

land, he could only rule over free men; the shadow of his scepter could no longer be polluted by falling on a slave. The law was appointed to take effect on the first of August, 1834.

And now let us turn aside and see this great sight, the emancipation in the solemn midnight hour of about 800,000 souls. The 31st of July came, 1834; *it was emancipation eve*. The negroes returned from their plantation labors at the usual hour. About ten o'clock they left the estates, and crowded the different chapels to hear their beloved missionaries; and their masters, to their honor be it recorded, ungrudgingly allowed them this privilege; it was certainly a graceful act on their part in this kindly manner to bid farewell to slavery; and all the more kindly considering the fears and excitements that had previously prevailed. Now was seen the wide extent of missionary influence, and its conservative power while it was still the foster-father of liberty; for though all the slaves were not converted, the Christian portion guided the movements of the whole, and brought all to the house of prayer. It was "a night much to be remembered," not by a destroying angel's visit, for it was the Lord's night of mercy, and in every island, "praise waited for God in Zion." The old Methodist watch-night service was employed on a new occasion, such as Mr. Wesley never contemplated when he held his first watch-night service at Kingswood, near Bristol. When wanting a few minutes of midnight, every one knelt down in silence; (O, who that was never a slave can conceive the emotions of slaves on the eve of such a tremendously glorious event to them;) at length the clock struck the solemn sound—one—two—three—four—five—six—seven—eight—nine—ten—eleven—twelve;—*and they were free. Slavery was over*. "Ethiopia" received her freedom on her knees; the chains fell off while she was literally "stretching out her hands unto God." *They knelt down slaves, they rose up freemen*. Their first utterances when free were thanksgivings to Jehovah, the several congregations in those many isles singing this noble doxology:

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow,
Praise him all creatures here below;
Praise him above ye heavenly host,
Praise, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

What music was that ascending to heaven at the midnight hour, in that unclouded atmosphere? Such strains for such an event had never been heard since the foundations of the earth were laid! One could imagine that angels suspended their songs in amazement at this new wonder which the Lord had done, and this wondrous praise,

till as it ceased below they burst forth with new raptures of "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men." One could imagine (perhaps it is not imagination) that "the spirits of the just made perfect" hushed their harps to listen; and that then prophets, and apostles, and Coke, and glorified missionaries, and all the redeemed, "cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb:" "for he hath saved the souls of the needy; he hath redeemed their soul from deceit and violence; and precious hath their blood been in his sight."

So ended slavery in the British empire! Were not a people who could so receive freedom *prepared* to be free? We were not then in the West Indies, but in Southern Africa; and we witnessed *the religious termination of slavery in that country*. Business was suspended, and all the places of worship were opened in the morning in Graham's Town. Early in the afternoon an Auxiliary Bible Society was formed; and the day closed with a public prayer-meeting of all denominations united in the Wesleyan Chapel. At five in the afternoon, the colonists held a public tea-meeting. And now a most pleasant incident occurred; we witnessed the gratifying spectacle. Twelve young men genteely clothed, who had that day receive emancipation, came forward with a *request that they might be allowed to perform their first act as freemen, by voluntarily waiting on the company as servants, in honor of the nation which had made them free!* Were not men of such nobility of mind worthy of liberty? Since emancipation, *slaveholders have themselves emerged into freedom*; the slave has lost his fetters, and the master has lost his fears. Incendiarism and insurrections are now unknown. "They sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none maketh them afraid." This is *the crowning compensation* for doing the thing that is right in the eyes of the Lord, and is quite equal in value to the twenty millions of wealth which a guilty nation laid as an expiatory offering upon the altar. Every man now finds his place in the commonwealth settled, not by his descent, or the color of his skin, but by his ability and worth; instead of a rivalry of race there is a rivalry of merit; and Lord Nelson's noble motto, "Let merit bear the palm," has ample scope for illustration.

When the struggle was over, it was well said by Mr. Buxton, at a Missionary Meeting in London:

"Let it not be supposed that we give the praise of the abolition of slavery to Mr. Wilberforce, or to Mr. Macaulay, or to any man. I know the obligations we owe them; but the voice of the Christian people of England was the instrument of victory. Its author, however, was not of human race, but, infinite in power; *what His mercy decreed, His fiat effected.*"

ART. III.—THE POET AND THE DREAMER.

1. *The Faerie Queen*, by EDMUND SPENSER.
2. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by JOHN BUNYAN.

LANGUAGE, as well as dress, has its fashion. A simple mode of expression would have been thought rustical by the admirers of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and have been considered as ungraceful as the scanty drapery and shorn tresses of the Empress Josephine's court would now appear in that of the English queen. It was once deemed a refinement in France to call dinner "the meridional necessity," and the sun "the amiable illuminator," when, instead of being asked to seat yourself, you were told to "fulfill the desire which the chair has to embrace you," when horses were called "plushed coursers," the ear "the gate of hearing," the cheek "the throne of modesty," and the hat "a buckler against the weather." Akin to this frivolous pedantry were the "taffeta phrases" at one time so much in vogue in the court of Queen Elizabeth, which Sir Walter Scott ridiculed in the character of Piercie Shafton, the euphuist. But this perversion of language was only temporary. A better taste soon prevailed, and the age which produced Bacon, Shakspeare, and Spenser, spurned such fantastic jargon. Still the language was vitiated by foreign intermixture when the *Pilgrim's Progress* appeared. It is a book in which the soul of the writer was fused, and it drew other hearts to it, as a blossoming plant attracts the elements which nourish it. Written in the familiar idiomatic style which the people understood, it took hold of the popular mind with a grasp which has never been relaxed.

Yet, admirable as its pure and vigorous Saxon is now esteemed, there was a time when the *Pilgrim's Progress* was looked upon as a book for the cottage and the nursery alone. The wits of Queen Anne's day smiled to hear Dr. Johnson say that the narratives of De Foe and Bunyan, two authors who had much in common, and who now sleep together in Bunhill fields, were the only ones he had ever read which he could have wished longer. Even after such a testimony from the great critic, Cowper dared not allude to Bunyan except enigmatically, lest he should provoke the facile sneer. Southey had not then written the life of "the glorious old dreamer" in his lucid English, nor had Macaulay placed him beside the author of *Paradise Lost*, and pronounced theirs the only creative minds of

the latter part of the seventeenth century. To use one of Bunyan's own similitudes, "the precious stone was covered over with a homely crust." Art has since encircled it with costly settings, and genius has given form and color to its beautiful creations. It has been said that "allegory has defects so inherent and unconquerable that the English taste turns from it in its fairest forms;" and the question has been asked, "If Spenser could not bend the bow, what hand may try?" What the poet, with all his classic lore and rich command of words could not always effect, has been done by an untrained and unlettered mind. By instilling into his story the vital element of his own experience he gave it a human interest, and "in making the imaginations of his own mind become the personal recollections of another's," he accomplished what is said to be the highest miracle of genius. Others have vainly essayed to follow the illiterate tinker. Their imitations have been as brief as the rose's bloom; while the remark which has been made of Chaucer's *Pilgrims* is yet more true of Bunyan's: "their garments have not decayed, neither have their shoes waxed old," after a travel of many years. This book is now translated into every living language, not excepting the barbarous Feejeean; and the interest it excites in minds of the highest grade, proves the truth of Coleridge's assertion, that "intense study of the Bible will prevent any writer from being vulgar in point of style." It also confirms the principle which Ruskin would inculcate when he says that "Tintoret, although the most powerful, was not the most perfect of painters, because he was destitute of religious feeling, with its accompanying perception of beauty."

"Such flowers can grow
In that sole garden where Christ's brow dropp'd blood."

But while the *Pilgrim's Progress* is now prized by the cultivated and intelligent, its peculiar charm is for those who first read it in the golden days of childhood. Then truly it becomes,

"Bound up like pictures in our book of life,"

and its scenes and actors are not visions, but obvious realities. We still remember how perfect and entire those forms of beauty and of terror stood out before us, as we read the wondrous drama for the first time, by a lonely lamp on a winter's eve. How they played and wrestled with the flickering shadows on the wall! How wild they looked by the varying fire-light! Sunny faces were there and dragons horrible; forms dark as midnight, and others as brilliant as the figures of an ancient missal. Dreaded was the order to go

to bed, for our way lay through passages of shadowy gloom, like the valley in which Christian fought with Apollyon, and our flesh crept at the thought that the monster might possibly stand in bodily shape before us. And Great Heart, the chivalrous knight, the spiritual Bayard, *sans peur, sans reproche*, who alternately helped the women, comforted the children, fought giants, and backed the lions, how strangely he became identified in our minds with the itinerant minister who laid his hand upon our head and talked to us of heaven! How we longed to travel with him to the Celestial City; to sit in the arbor on the side of the hill, and drink of the spring at its foot; to go with him to the Palace Beautiful, there to sleep in the Chamber of Peace; and to walk in the King's Garden among "trees of frankincense and all chief spices."

The holy man did not know what a material image of heaven his words evoked, and could not dream that we had long been inquiring in what direction the Celestial City lay, while we only received jeering answers in return.

We put aside the book as our literary stores increase, but we are apt to return to it when the mind awakens to strong spiritual influences. If the panorama then appears "less gross and bodily" it is not less impressive. We looked at it first through the eyes of the imagination, but now we follow the author's advice, and

"Lay the book, and head, and heart together."

The picture-gallery of our childhood becomes the monitor and guide of our youth, and we place it only below the One Inspired Book. We study them together, and the Pilgrim's Progress seems like "a casket of jewels of which we have just found the key." We find an echo of heaven in the words. The writer appears like an instrument touched by an unseen hand, and we think of Blake, the dying artist, who, with melodies supernaturally sweet upon his lips, continually exclaimed, "They are not mine, my beloved! my Catharine, they are not mine!"

We have often known this book of power called for by the dying believer; we have heard him ask to have Christian's passage over the river read to him when his feet were touching its waves, and he has spoken of the comfort it gave him, while he wondered that one in the fullness of his strength could so truly describe the shadowy land.

The Lord has said, "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." It seemed a grievous thing, in days when vice was rampant, and virtue needed all the aid the preached word can give, that Bunyan's tongue of fire should be silenced, and that he

should be torn from his family and pastoral charge to bear a long captivity in Bedford Jail. But from the blossom, sorrow, springs forth the richest fruit. Through that captivity, painful and unjust, the Pilgrim's Progress came to us, and perhaps all the sermons that its author might otherwise have preached, would not have benefited the world like this one precious volume. Uttered words perish and are forgotten, but the pen transfixes them, and printing is the amber to preserve them for succeeding generations.

It is pleasant to turn from Bunyan, the magician of our childhood, to Spenser, the favorite poet of our youth. We have often wondered that the coincidences between them should not have been fully traced, although the two are often named together, and Bunyan has been styled "the Spenser of the people." To us it appears as evident that Bunyan had read, at least the first book of the Faerie Queen, as that Chaucer had read Boccaccio, or Milton, Dante. We cannot but think that it in some degree molded his narrative and colored his descriptions, for there are parallelisms that would hardly have occurred otherwise, although there is no borrowing and no imitation. On the contrary, it is interesting to observe how kindred minds, with dissimilar culture and circumstances, follow a train of thought along a given track, alike, yet unlike. Each in this instance pursues the topic according to his own peculiar character and station in life. Bunyan's is the style of a simple man of humble pretensions; Spenser's that of one of high station and chivalrous affinities. There is contrast as well as similitude between them.

It has been said that "Spenser should be read as he wrote, in the sun." We first read him in summer, in the shadow of "broad, embracing trees," and his pictures, "warm as the glow of a Tuscan vintage," brought back the memory of our early friend. It was he, wearing the same features, but clad in another costume, and withal less cordial and glowing, more stately and reserved. Our rustic favorite in his undressed genius, had become a polished courtier.

Under very different aspects are the heroes of Spenser and Bunyan introduced to our notice. The taste of the reader is charmed by the description of The Red Cross Knight,

"Yclad in mighty arms and silver shield,"

going forward

"To prove his puissance in battle brave."

But we look upon him as an actor in some splendid pageant soon to open before us, while our sympathy is awakened by Bunyan's poor trembling wretch, clothed in rags and uttering his

lamentable cries. He is our brother; bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. Although both authors present Divine truth in charming symbolism, yet the same difference exists between Spenser and Bunyan, as has been observed between the portraits of Titian and Reynolds, where one is said to give you real people, and the other their reflection. Bunyan's pilgrim is a reality; Spenser's knight a conception. And there is as strong a contrast between the silver melody of Spenser's verse, and the direct and homely style of Bunyan's prose, as may possibly have existed between the neat and delicate chirography of the poet and the jagged letters of the dreamer. We do not know that the handwriting of the former exists, but the cramped and uneven penmanship of the latter is well known.

We turn now from the contrast to the resemblances between our two authors; resemblances at times but faint and fleeting, and then again vivid and distinct. We have followed the pilgrim through the miry slough, and see with sorrow that wrong counsel has led him from the right path. We tremble for him when he stands confused and frightened, "hard by the hill that did seem so high," afraid to advance or recede. Did a vision of Mount Sinai suggest the description both of the poet and the dreamer? The one tells us, "It did seem so high, and did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid lest it should fall upon his head; and there came flashes of fire out of the hill, . . . and words and fire that made the hair of his flesh stand up;" and the other speaks of

"The highest mount
Such one as that same mighty man of God——
Dwelt forty days upon: where, writ in stone
With bloody letters by the hand of God,
The bitter doom of death and baleful moan
He did receive, while flashing fire around him shone."

Book I, Canto X, v. 53.

We modernize the spelling in our extracts, although we think that the antique drapery beautifies the sentiment.

Extricated from his embarrassment by the words of Evangelist, who directs him to the light before him, Christian "in process of time arrived at the gate. He knocked there more than once or twice. At last there came a grave person to the door, named Good Will." When Spenser's Una leads her wounded knight to the House Holiness, which answers to the House Beautiful in the Pilgrim's Progress, we are told

"The door they found fast lock'd,
——but when they knock'd
The porter open'd unto them straightway."

while

"The aged sire all hoary gray,
With looks full lowly cast,"—Book I, Canto X, v. 5.

is certainly not unlike the sedate porter who admitted Christian. Christian passes onward to the Interpreter's House, where, among other profitable things, he sees "the picture of a very grave person, hanging on the wall, with eyes lifted up to heaven;" and Spenser tells us of one that

"Ever up to heaven, as she did pray,
Her steadfast eyes were bent, nor swerv'd other way."
Book I, Canto X, v. 14.

At the foot of the Hill Difficulty, our pilgrim found three men sleeping. "Christian then seeing them lie in this case, went to them, if peradventure he might wake them." But his efforts to rouse them were unsuccessful. They only looked upon him drowsily and gave dreamy answers, until Christian, after crying aloud to them in vain, "went on his way." This scene is almost exactly described in the *Faerie Queen*, Book I, Canto I, v. 42:

"The messenger approaching to him spake,
But his waste words return'd to him in vain;
So sound he slept that naught might him awake.
Then rudely he him thrust and pusht with pain;
Whereat he 'gan to stretch; but he again
Shook him so hard that forc'd him to speak.
As one then in a dream, whose drier brain
Is tost with troubled sights and fancies weak,
He mumbled soft, but would not all his silence break."

Spenser tells us of the

"narrow way,
Scatter'd with bushy thorns and rugged briers;"

and Bunyan tells us that the path before Christian was "a narrow way that lay right up the hill, and the name of the way," he adds, "is called Difficulty."

The "narrow way" is safely scaled, notwithstanding "the great wood" on the one side, and the "dark mountains" on the other. But Mistrust and Timorous, aghast with terror, come "running to meet Christian amain," with the report of lions in the way, and expressing their determination to go back, for "the further we go," say they, "the more dangers we meet with." "So Mistrust and Timorous ran down the hill."

In correspondence with this description is that which Spenser gives of Trevisan, in Book I, Canto IX, v. 21, 22. He comes running toward the knight,

"Trembling in every joint;"

and

"Still as he fled his eyes were backward cast,
As if his fear still followed him behind.
Nigh as he drew they might perceive
—— his hairs

Upstaring stiff:—
No drop of blood in all his face appears,
Nor life in limb."

This description of "the frightened varlet" reminds us of the wood-cut engravings that illustrated the *Holy War* and the early editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, so well calculated to put a timid child into the "misseeming plight" of the trembling coward.

After many sore trials Christian "lifted up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately house before him, the name of which was called Beautiful, and it stood by the highway side."

Here we are furnished with one of Bunyan's sweetly suggestive pictures. The day is closing, the last streak of light is fading in the West, a pale star glimmers in the sky. The roar of the lions is heard, but a refuge is at hand. The porter calls to him from the lodge, invites him to the house, and directs him to the entrance, where he is met by "a grave and beautiful damsel named Discretion." The Palace Beautiful, with its virgin sisters, is Spenser's

"Ancient house,
Renown'd throughout the world for sacred lore,
And pure unspotted life."—Book I, Canto X, v. 3.

The grave and beautiful damsel answers to one of our poet's heroines:

"Medina was her name;
A sober, sad, and comely, courteous dame.
Fair marching forth in honorable wise,
Him at the threshold met, and well did enterprise."
Book II, Canto II, v. 14.

Before Christian leaves the House Beautiful we must go up with him to the roof, and take a view of Emmanuel's Land. In brief words has Bunyan given us a landscape replete with beauty, over which Spenser would long have lingered, for he describes where Bunyan only indicates. He would have specified every variety of foliage "in that mountainous country beautified with woods," and told of

"The sayling pine, the cedar proud and tall,
The vine-prop elm, the poplar never dry,
The builder oak, sole king of forest tall,
The aspin good for staves, the cypress funeral."
Book I, Canto II, v. 8.

Spenser delights in trees, and often places his lovely lady in their softening shadow. He would have minutely painted "the vineyards and fruits of all sorts, flowers, springs, and fountains, delectable to behold," which Bunyan merely names; but if it requires more skill to sketch a picture with a few careless strokes, than by many and careful touches, Bunyan must be considered the superior artist. Moreover, we must remember that the Faerie Queen was written amid the rich and varied scenery which surrounded the castle of Spenser in Ireland, and that the silver Mulla and the leafy shadow of its banks are thought to be reflected in the poem. But ideal beauty followed Bunyan into a somber dungeon. He had no natural pictures to stimulate his fancy; his stony walls bore no impressions of the lovely scenes with which he regales his readers. But he who made a flute out of the leg of a stool, and drew sweet music from it, required no outward circumstances to aid his genius. He wove tag laces throughout the day, but the eyes of his mind beheld other objects. He saw "the meadows beautified with lilies," and heard the birds sing and the fountains fall, as he followed his homely employment. Both he and Spenser appear to have had a peculiar love for lilies. Bunyan's green grass is frequently spangled with them, and Spenser often alludes to "the lady of the flowery fields."

Bunyan had no time for lavish description. He groups charming objects together, but does not allow them to lure him from the goal on which his eye is fixed. They are not lost upon him, "the green valley," "the springs that rise up out of the top of the hill," "the rainbow caused by the sun," "the bright and twinkling stars," "the vineyards with purple grapes," "the voice of the turtle-dove," and "the song of the bird." All these he mentions, and his senses and his soul rejoice in them. But his object was to instruct.

"The bloody cross,
The dear remembrance of his dying Lord,"

which Spenser's knight wore upon his breast, Bunyan carried in his heart, and it was his sole object to lead his readers to it. Spenser, on the contrary, through the exuberance of his imagination and his command of musical words, often wearies his reader by tedious description. In the account of Christian's battle with Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation, the coincidence with Spenser becomes more striking and distinct than before. "The foul fiend" meets him at its entrance. "He had wings like a dragon," says Bunyan.

"His foe a dragon horrible and stern,"

writes Spenser, in his account of a battle between the knight and a foe not unlike Apollyon. Book I, Canto XI, v. 9.

"He was clothed with scales, and they are his pride," continues Bunyan; while Spenser describes one who

"Over all with brazen scales was arm'd,
Like plated coats of steel, so couchéd near
That naught might pierce; nor might his corse be harm'd
With dint of sword, nor push of pointed spear."

Book I, Canto XI, v. 9.

"Then did Christian draw when Apollyon made at him." In like manner the Red Cross Knight,

"Then when he saw no power might prevail,
His trusty sword he call'd to his last aid."

But, in spite of his brave defense, Christian is wounded "in his head, and his hands, and his feet." The knight fares no better.

"The wrathful beast about him turnéd light,
And him so rudely pushing by, did brush
With his long tail, that horse and man to ground did rush."

"Christian again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could;" and so also did his counterpart, for

"Horse and man up lightly rose again,
And fresh encounter toward him address'd."

"This sore combat lasted for about half a day, even till Christian was almost quite spent;" while for two whole days Spenser's hero was as sorely beset.

Christian at last gives his enemy "a dreadful thrust," and the sword of the knight likewise

"Wrought a wound full wide"

upon his adversary.

As Apollyon, at the end of the combat, "spread forth his dragon wings and flew away," so of the knight's foe it is said,

"His flaggy wings, when forth he did display,
Were like two sails in which the hollow wind
Is gather'd full."

"No man can imagine what yelling and hideous roaring Apollyon made," says Bunyan; while Spenser similarly speaks,

"He cried as raging seas are wont to roar,
When wintry storm his wrathful wreck does threat."

"Then came to him a hand with some of the leaves of the tree of life, the which Christian took and applied to the wounds he had received in the battle, and was healed immediately," says Bunyan,

in evident allusion to that tree of life which grew in the garden of Eden, and which is seen no more in the Bible till its closing page. Thus Spenser celebrates its healing qualities:

"There grew a goodly tree him fair beside,
Loaden with fruit, and apples rosy red
As they in pure vermillion had been dyed;
Whereof great virtues over all were redd
For happy life to all which thereon fed;
And life eke everlasting did befall.
Great God it planted in that blessed stedd [soil]
With his almighty hand, and did it call
The tree of life——

"In all the world like was not to be found,
Save in that soil where all good things did grow,
And freely sprang out of the fruitful ground,
As incorrupted nature did them sow,
Till that great dragon all did overthrow.

"From that first tree forth flow'd, as from a well,
A trickling stream of balm, most souveraine
And dainty dear, which on the ground still fell,
And overflow'd all the fertile plain,
As it had dew'd been with timely rain.
Life and long health that gracious ointment gave,
And deadly wounds could heal."—Book I, Canto XI, v. 46-48.

After innumerable hardships and temptations, Christian walks with his beloved Hopeful by the River of the Water of Life. And they saw where "a path lay along the way on the other side of the fence." It was a path like that which Spenser graphically traces when he tells us

"She found the trodden grass,
In which the track of people's footing was."

Our pilgrims find it "easy to their feet," and, like Spenser's actors,

"— forth they pass'd, with pleasure forward led,
Joying to hear the birds' sweet harmony,"

until, like them,

"They cannot find the path which first was shown,
But wander to and fro in ways unknown."

Book I, Canto I, v. 10.

"And now it began to rain, and thunder, and lighten in a most dreadful manner, and the water rose amain."

So with Una and her escort:

"As they past
The day with clouds was sudden overcast,
And angry Jove an hideous storm of rain
Did pour."—Book I, Canto I, v. 6.

Christian and Hopeful fall asleep in the neighborhood of Doubting Castle, "the owner whereof was Giant Despair." The next day they were found on his grounds and bidden to go along with him. "So they were forced to go, because he was stronger than they." "The giant therefore drove them before him, and put them into his castle in a very dark dungeon." In like manner did the knight's

"Monstrous enemy
With sturdy steps come stalking in his sight;
An hideous giant horrible and high,"

who

"Him to his castle brought with hasty force,
And in a dungeon deep threw him without remorse."

Book I. Canto VII, v. 15.

While Christian and Hopeful lay in the dungeon, Mrs. Diffidence, the wife of Giant Despair, who in many respects is a reflected portrait of the false Duessa, advised her husband to tempt them "to make away with themselves." "So when morning was come he goes to them in a surly manner, as before, . . . and told them that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way would be forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with knife, halter, or poison; 'for why,' said he, 'should you choose life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness?'"

"A man of hell that calls himself Despair"

is made by Spenser to offer his victims a like temptation.

"He pluckt from us all hope of due relief
That erst us held in love of lingering life.
Then hopeless, heartless, 'gan the cunning thief
Persuade us die to stint all further strife,
To me he lent this rope, to him a rusty knife."

Book I, Canto IX, v. 29.

The strong resemblance here can hardly be accidental. The scene in the Faerie Queen would be just the one calculated to make a deep impression upon the earnest mind of Bunyan, and it no doubt dwelt there, and, perhaps unconsciously, assisted him in the composition of the picture.

Hopeful's counsel to Christian "did moderate the mind of his brother," and deter him from yielding to the temptation to take away his life. In the same spirit the wise and pious Una beseeches her knight not to allow such thoughts to dismay him, while she sweetly asks,

"In heavenly mercies has thou not a part?
Why should'st thou then despair, who chosen art?"

and then appears to hold out the same key which enabled Christian to open his dungeon, when she proceeds:

"Where justice grows there grows eke greater grace,
 The which doth quench the brand of hellish smart,
 And that accurst handwriting doth efface.
 Arise, Sir Knight, arise, and leave this hellish place."

Book I, Canto IX, v. 53.

Escaped from their thralldom, the pilgrims go on till they come to the Delectable Mountains. And here in a brief manner Bunyan has sketched a perfectly lovely scene. "The orchards and vineyards" rise up before us in dewy freshness, and "fountains of water" sparkle in sunny light. How picturesquely Spenser would have clothed the shepherds, who are simply said to have "fed their flocks by the wayside;" how minutely he would have described the pilgrims, who, we are quaintly told, "leaned upon their staves, as is common with weary pilgrims when they stand to talk with any by the way." Yet a picture more suggestive of pastoral beauty could scarcely be drawn. The pilgrims and the shepherds became a part of the landscape, which appears like an Arcadian view under an English sky. In the morning "the shepherds called up Christian and Hopeful to walk with them upon the mountains," where, among other objects, they were shown "the gates of the Celestial City, and some of the glory of the place."

Spenser's knight, too, from the top of a high hill, was favored with the view of "a goodly city," which answers to that which Christian saw, and is thus beautifully described:

"Whose walls and towers were builded high and strong,
 Of pearl and precious stone, which earthly tongue
 Cannot describe, nor wit of man can tell.
 The city of the Great King called well,
 Wherein eternal peace and happiness doth dwell.

"As he thereon stood gazing he might see
 The blessed angels to and fro descend
 From highest heaven in gladsome company,
 And with great joy unto that city wend,
 As commonly as friend does with his friend."

When the knight, lost in wonder, asked,

"What stately building durst so high extend
 Her lofty towers unto the starry sphere,
 And what unknown nation there empeopled were?"

he was answered

"That is
 The new Jerusalem, that God has built
 For those to dwell in that are chosen his.
 His chosen people, purged from sinful guilt
 With precious blood, which cruelly was spilt
 On cursed tree, of that unspotted lamb
 That for the sins of all the world was kilt.

Now are they saints in all that city sam, [together,]
More dear unto their God than younglings to their dam."

Book I, Canto X, v. 55-57.

In passing, we may here notice a faint family likeness between Bunyan's "very brisk lad," Ignorance, so full of self-conceit, vapid talk, and real worthlessness, and Spenser's amusing and life-like character of Braggadocia.

And now we come to scenes upon which Bunyan was prone to look through the perspective glass, which he has put in the hands of his pilgrims. But their hands shook, and the objects they wished to behold, were in consequence not clearly visible. But through the mirror of God's word, they had become very distinct to the mind of Bunyan.

He lived in the land of Beulah. This, to him, was not an ideal image, but an actual reality. "His fiction was truth." The air of the country was as "sweet and pleasant" to him as it was to his aged pilgrims. But they are summoned thence to cross the dark river, and he leaves them not. He resolves not only to accompany them to its banks, but to go up with them on the other side. It was a daring attempt, but he probably might have said, with Elizabeth Barrett, "the subject and the glory covering it swept through the gates, and I stood full in it against my will." It was well that the curtain was raised by such reverend hands. Like one with anointed eyes, he goes on to describe "the glorious companions and shining ones" who met the pilgrims joyfully, and bore them to the Celestial City amid heavenly music, unutterably sweet. So our poet, also, in sweet and lofty cadence alludes to supernal sights and sounds, in a manner that justifies one of his admirers in remarking, that "great injustice is done to Spenser when, bewildered in the mazes of his inexhaustible creations, or by the brightness of his exuberant fancy, we see in the Faerie Queen nothing more than a wondrous fairy tale, a wild romance, or a glorious pageant of chivalry. Beyond all this, far within is an inner life, and that is breathed in it from the Bible."

"And is there care in heaven, and is there love

In heavenly spirits to these creatures base

That may compassion to their evils move?

There is, else much more wretched were the case

Of men than beasts. But O! th' exceeding grace

Of highest God, that loves his creatures so,

And all his works with mercy doth embrace,

That blessed angels he sends to and fro,

To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe!

"How oft do they their silver bowers leave

To come to succor us that succor want!

How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
 The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
 Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
 They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
 And their bright squadrons round about us plant;
 And all for love, and nothing for reward:
 O why should heavenly God to man have such regard!"

Book I, Canto VIII, v. 1, 2.

When we read these lines we do not wonder that two commentators on the Scriptures quote them in their notes, or that Mr. Wesley recommended the *Faerie Queen* to be read with other books by a young lady, who had asked him to prescribe a course of reading to her.

Christian and Hopeful vanish from our eyes, but the wife and children of Christian tread in his footprints, and again

"The pilgrim's staff
 Gives out green leaves with living dews impearl'd."

In the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* we again see traces of Spenser, and gather flowers, perfumed with a diviner air, from the wreaths he was wont to weave. The hospitable reception of Christiana and her children at the house of the Interpreter, where "one smiled, and another smiled, and they all smiled for joy, that Christiana had become a pilgrim," and where they also looked upon the boys, and stroked them over their faces with their hands, in token of their kind reception," and "bade all welcome to their master's house," may be very well expressed in Spenser's own words:

"Where them does meet a Franklin fair and free,
 And entertains with comely, courteous glee;
 And in his speeches and behaviour he
 Did labor lively to express the same,
 And gladly did them guide, till to the hall they came."

Book I, Canto X, v. 6.

Conducted by their guide to the Palace Beautiful, they are laid to sleep in the Chamber of Peace, where they are soothed with music such as Spenser describes:

"An heavenly noise,
 Heard sound through all the palace pleasantly,
 Like as it had been many an angels' voice
 Singing before the Eternal Majesty——
 Yet wist no creature whence that heavenly sweet
 Proceeded, yet each one felt secretly——
 —— ravish'd with rare impression on his sprite."

Book I, Canto XII, v. 39.

Did Bunyan bethink him of Una's request to Charissa, to "school her knight in the virtuous rules of the house," when he makes

Prudence ask Christiana's leave to catechise her children? Charissa and Prudence resemble each other in being prone to teach

"Every good behest
Of love and righteousness."—Book I, Canto X, v. 23.

Perhaps this is the place to speak, although we attach but little importance to the fact, of the coincidence in names which appears in the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Faerie Queen*. There would naturally be an accordance where each author personifies abstract virtues and vices. They both have an Ignorance, an Hypocrisy, a Humility, a Despair; and the name of Sans Foy, though so different in character, cannot fail to recall the Little Faith of Bunyan. For "my old Lord Lechery" of *Vanity Fair* we have

"Lechery
Upon a bearded goat,"

in Spenser. Of Mercy, the sweet maiden who, Ruth-like, leaves her people and her country to cling to Christiana, we are told, "her custom was to make coats and garments to give to the poor," and, "when she had nothing to do for herself, she would be making of hose and garments for others, and bestow them upon them that had need." And of one of Spenser's personages it is said,

"Her name was Mercy, well known over all,
To be both gracious and eke liberal."—Book I, Canto X, v. 34.

At the House Beautiful the eldest son of Christiana fell sick. "His sickness was sore upon him," says Bunyan, in his homeliest manner; "he was pulled as it were both ends together." He had eaten fruit which he should not have touched; and the knight of Spenser is also a sufferer for indulgence in forbidden pleasures:

"—— his torment was so great
That like a lion he would cry and roar,
And rend his flesh."—Book I, Canto X, v. 28.

Mr. Skill, "an ancient and well-approved physician," was hastily sent for to administer to Matthew; and for the knight they

"Straightway sent with careful diligence,
To fetch a leech; the which had great insight
In that disease,——
And well could cure the same."—Book I, Canto X, v. 23.

The ensuing lines of Spenser, as may be seen by comparing the two accounts, describe the course taken by Matthew's physician as accurately as possible, only that Bunyan goes into more particulars.

" — All that noy'd his heavy sprite
Well search'd, eftsoun he 'gan apply relief
Of salves and medicine, which had passing prief."

Book I, Canto X, v. 24.

When the party of pilgrims were preparing to leave the place in which they had been so kindly entertained, many rarities were shown them. Among these was "a golden anchor." "So they bade Christiana take it down, for said they, 'You shall have it with you, for it is of absolute necessity that you should, that you may lay hold of that within the vail.'" Of the knight it is said,

" — wise Sperenza gave him comfort sweet,
And taught him how to take assuréd hold
Upon her silver anchor."—Book I, Canto X, v. 22.

Again we enter the Valley of Humiliation, but it seems different from the place through which Christian walked. For Christiana and Mercy it is a spot all placid and serene, where the little shepherd boy wears "the herb called heart's-ease in his bosom," and where "a man shall be free from the noise and from the hurryings of this life." "I love to be in such places," said Mercy, "where there is no rattling with coaches, nor rumbling of wheels."

" — A pleasant dale that lowly lay
Between two hills,"

says Spenser of a similar place.

From this lovely spot they came to the Valley of the Shadow of Death, through which they passed, terrified by undefined shapes of horror, like to those

"Legions of spirits out of darkness dread,"

which were called forth by Hypocrisy to do his bidding.—Book I, Canto I, v. 38.

At the end of the valley Giant Maul issues from his cave, and comes toward the travelers. "Mr. Great Heart went to meet him, and as he went he drew his sword, but the giant had a club. So without more ado they fell to it," says Bunyan.

"Therewith the giant buckled him to fight,
Inflamed with scornful wrath and high disdain,
And lifting up his dreadful club on high
All arm'd with ragged snubbs and knotty grain,
Him thought at first encounter to have slain,"

says Spenser, describing a like engagement, (Book I, Canto VIII, v. 7.) "The first blow struck Mr. Great Heart down upon one of his knees," but he, "recovering himself, laïd about him in full, lusty

manner, and gave the giant a wound in his arm;" while Spenser's hero, attacking the enemy

"With blade all burning bright
Smote off his arm;"—Book I, Canto VIII, v. 10.

and the battle in each concludes with the slaying of the giant. "The women and children rejoiced, and Mr. Great Heart praised God for the deliverance he had wrought."

"Then 'gan triumphant trumpets sound on high,
That sent to heaven the echoed report
Of their new joy and happy victory."

Book I, Canto XII, v. 4.

They come to Doubting Castle, the grim old fortress in which Christian and Hopeful had been immured, and which Great Heart resolves to demolish. Prince Arthur has also a castle to storm, but he commences his attack in a different manner from Mr. Great Heart, and it is interesting to see how each writer preserves his identity in going over the same ground. The squire of Spenser's knight, finding "the castle gates fast shut," in accordance with the laws of chivalry, took

"The horn of bugle small,
Which hung adown his side in twisted gold,
And tassels gay,"—Book I, Canto VIII, v. 3.

and blew a piercing blast, which made the castle quake and opened the gate at once.

Spenser proceeds:

"The giant, self-dismayéd with that sound,
In haste comes rushing from the inner bower
With staring countenance stern, as one astound,
And staggering steps; —
And after him the proud Duessa came."

"Therewith the giant buckled him to fight,
Inflamed with scornful wrath and high disdain,
And lifting up his *dreadful* club on high,
Him thought in first encounter to have slain."*

"Then when his dear Duessa heard and saw
The evil stownd [moment] that danger'd her estate,
Unto his aid she suddenly did draw."

Book I, Canto VIII, v. 5-8.

We have not interrupted the narration here to mark the correspondence between Spenser and Bunyan. It will be seen as we go

* We have previously given this quotation where it applies quite as well as here.

on to describe Great Heart's attack. No squire, with horn of gold and baldrick gay, had he to announce his approach; no pricking coursers, nor "purple and violet plumes" were there. Great Heart's company was composed of only a few footsore, though faithful and honest-hearted pilgrims. "When Great Heart and his company came to the castle gate, they knocked for entrance with an unusual noise. With that the giant comes to the gate, and Diffidence, his wife," (like Duessa,) "follows."

"Now Giant Despair, because he was a giant, thought no one could overcome him. . . . So he harnessed himself and went out; . . . he came out in iron shoes, with a great club in his hand. . . . Then these six men went up to him to beset him, . . . and Diffidence, the giantess, came up to help him."

The Prince and Great Heart were both successful. Doubting Castle was destroyed, and two wretched prisoners released. "In it of pilgrims they found one Mr. Despondency, almost starved to death, and one Mrs. Much-Afraid, his daughter: these two they saved alive." Spenser, in correspondence with Bunyan, tells us of the search for captives, which resulted in finding the adventurous knight, with whom Spenser's story opens, immured in a horrible prison,

"A rueful spectacle of death and ghastly dreere—
His bare, thin cheeks for want of better bits,
And empty sides deceived of their due,
Could make a stony heart his hap to rue."

Book I, Canto VIII, v. 41.

And Spenser proceeds to relate how

"— all the floor—
With blood of guiltless babes and innocents true,
Which there were slain as sheep out of the fold,
Defiled was ;"

while Bunyan says, "It would have made you wonder to have seen the dead bodies that lay here and there in the castle yard, and how full of dead men's bones the dungeon was." No wonder that the pilgrims were jocund and merry, when such a tower of abomination was leveled.

"Now Christiana," continues the genial old dreamer, "could play upon the viol, and her daughter Mercy upon the lute; so, since they were so merry disposed, she played them a lesson, and Ready-to-Halt would dance. So he took Despondency's daughter, Much-Afraid, by the hand, and to dancing they went in the road. . . . He footed it well; also the girl was to be commended, for she answered the music handsomely." We presume that those of us who are most opposed

to dancing would hardly object to it under such circumstances, and with such a spirit. No ascetic was John Bunyan, with all his serious, earnest, intense views of eternity. His cheerful, loving nature is ever breaking forth in his narrative. We smile as often as we weep, at his artless naïveté and overflowing humor. He is an April day in which "gloom and glory meet together." Did the female sex ever have a nobler compliment given them than his? "I will say again, that when the Saviour was come women rejoiced in him, before either man or angel. I read not that ever man did give unto Christ so much as one groat; but the women followed him, and did minister unto him of their substance. It was a woman that washed his feet with tears, and a woman that anointed his body to the burial. They were women that wept when he was going to the cross, and women that followed him from the cross, and that sat by his sepulcher when he was buried. They were women that were first with him at the resurrection morn, and women that brought tidings first to his disciples that he was risen from the dead. Women, therefore, are highly favored, and show by these things that they are sharers with us in the grace of life." This lump of pure gold has been beaten very thin in some modern verses, without any credit being giving to the author of the sentiment.

Dancing and music in like manner celebrated the victory of Sir Guyon, another of Spenser's many knights-errant :

"All dancing in a row
The comely virgins came, with garlands dight, [dressed,]
As fresh as flowers in meadow green doth grow
When morning dew upon their leaves doth light,
And in their hands sweet timbrels all upheld on hight.

"And them, before the fry of children young,
Their wanton sports, and childish mirth did play,
And to the maidens' sounding timbrels sung,
In well attuned notes, a joyous lay,
And made delightful music all the way."

Book I, Canto XII, v. 7.

We had begun this article before we saw Mr. Macaulay's very positive assertion that John Bunyan had never read *The Faerie Queen*, and that "a detailed examination" would convince any one of the fact. A detailed examination has confirmed our opinion to the contrary, but we leave it to others to decide whether the Dreamer had ever read the verses of the Poet.

ART. IV.—THE MORAL VALUE OF A MATERIAL WORLD.

MAN is a spirit linked to a clod. His soul is like angels, like God himself, without weight or magnitude. In this part of his nature all his real power resides. Here lies the ability to perceive, remember, and reason, to will and to do, to enjoy happiness or suffer pain. Here holiness dwells, or sin reigns. The soul is the man. Of itself the body is a mass of inert, passive matter, deriving importance only from its connection with the unseen spirit. It has long been the fashion to speak of the body with contempt, and to bewail the degradation of the spirit in being compelled to drag this earthly clog after it in all its motions. The philosophers of one school declared matter essentially bad, unmanageable even by the power of God, an eternal obstacle in the path of Divine goodness, and the source of all evil. Even divines spoke of the body as the enemy of the soul, blinding its eyes, weighing upon its wings, and dragging it down from its heavenward flight. Hence arose the hermit seclusions of one set of dreamers, and the multiplied fasts and flagellations of others. It was deemed a virtue to lash and starve the body, and he was considered the nearest heaven, whose bones bore the least of earth.

But is this a correct view of the case? Is the union of the soul with matter an unmixed evil? Is the body a mere board tied before the eyes, or a weight bound to the neck of an unruly beast? Has this strange marriage of the material and the immaterial no beauty, no philosophy? Is it the creation of the Divine will, but not the Divine wisdom? What bearing has it upon human life and probation? It pleased God, ages, it may be, before the creation of man, to call into existence cherubim and seraphim, and "an innumerable company of angels." These, so far as the record informs us, were created spirits, untrammelled with material bodies. They nevertheless had a law and a probation suited to their nature, and some of them "kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation," and are now "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." Others have kept their first estate, and now form the angelic "host of God." They are the "thousand thousands" that minister unto the Ancient of days, the "ten thousand times ten thousand" that stand before the throne of flame. But if a spirit can live, move, and have its being, be holy or unholy, undergo a probation and receive its reward, without a material body, or a material world, why has our Creator, in forming

man, departed from former modes? It is often said that God's works are varied and multiform; but does variation ever occur without reason? We would not take the ground, that our Creator has made us of spirit and matter both, because other modes of creation have proved of doubtful wisdom, or have been attended with unforeseen disasters. It is safe, however, for us to believe that, whatever means God may have employed to secure equivalent results in other cases, the union of the spiritual and the material in the formation of man, is a wise, benevolent, and beautiful element of his probationary life; and that, instead of bewailing our degradation, in being made dwellers upon the earth, we should rejoice, saying with the Psalmist, "*O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches.*"

But what are the peculiarities incident to life and probation in a material world, as distinguished from the probationary existence of spirits, unconnected with matter? It is evident that to attempt to investigate these things is to deal with shadows more than with substance, and to indulge in conjecture, rather than arrive at demonstration. Still, conjecture is sometimes allowable, even in Divine things; and if, in the present case, we attribute considerable importance to material things, it will be kept in mind that we value them only because God sees fit by their means to effect results which, it may be, Infinite Wisdom could have reached in a thousand other ways. God has adopted *this* mode, and though there may be many others, the wisdom and the beauty of this are none the less admirable. The question before us is, How is the probationary life of a human spirit affected by its being clothed in a material body, and placed in a material world?

1. The result which first strikes the mind is location, or confinement to a place. We learn from Revelation that spirits possess the power of motion. Of angels it is said that they are "all ministering spirits, *sent forth* to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." Angels hastened Lot from the doomed city in which he dwelt, delivered Elisha from his enemies, and bore Lazarus to Abraham's bosom. At the day of judgment angels shall be sent forth to "gather together the elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." Devils, too, can go from place to place. In the book of Job, Satan is addressed thus: "Whence comest thou?" He replies: "From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it." And at the end of the colloquy, "Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord." Angels and devils, then, not only appear and disappear, but come and go. They traverse space, but how, we know not; none of the laws pertaining to the motions

of material things will apply to them. And if they can move at all, we see nothing to limit their speed. The swift messengers of God may take the wings of the morning, may fly with the velocity of light to the uttermost parts of the earth, in an unappreciable point of time. A shining cohort may at one moment stand before the throne, in the heaven of heavens, adoring Him that sitteth thereon, and casting down their golden crowns before him; and the next may flash upon the darkening eyes of some dying Lazarus, and bear his soul from earth to paradise. Human spirits that have lived out their probationary life well, and have left their bodies on earth, to molder into dust, may possess the same power of motion. They may be able to outstrip the light. They may dart up to the stars with the quickness of thought, and soar among suns and systems as the strong eagle sails among the clouds. Newton and the kindred minds of the past, who rejoiced in the wonders wrought by creative wisdom, and to whose worshiping eyes the concave sky was but the dome of a vast temple, and every orb of night an altar of incense, may now be reveling in discoveries of which, in their lower life, they never dreamed; and to them the comets, those roving mysteries, the belts of Jupiter, the silver rings of Saturn, the zodiacal light, the evolutions of the periodic stars, the distant suns whose fires have paled and gone out, and those which have newly shot their beams down to the human eye, may be but the first steps of investigations now prosecuted among nebulae as old as eldest creation, but whose first-born rays have not yet reached the earth.

But if angels, devils, and probably disembodied human spirits, possess powers of motion like these, then the effect of the body is to lessen greatly the mobility of the soul. In the flesh man is comparatively a very slow traveler, and confined to very narrow limits. The Divine hand molded a world for his home, and "and appointed his bounds, which he cannot pass." The spirit within may glance into space and long to explore its depths, but gravitation's strong but invisible chain tethers him to the earth. The body is a slow traveler, even upon the surface of the earth, the floor of its cage. It pants under its own weight, and the hill must be leveled, and the valley filled up, and the stream bridged, and recourse must be had to brute strength and to the power of wind and steam, to help on the tardy pace. We boast of the speed of modern travel, which often dashes the body in pieces in the vain attempt to make it keep up with the eager desires of the tireless spirit. Our present journeyings, therefore, as compared with what, without the body, they might be, are exceedingly slow in motion and limited in extent. Other incidental circumstances render us unwilling to rove even in the narrow circle

which our earthly nature allows. Local attachments, family, friends, possessions, interests tie us down, and, like plants, we take root in the soil, and resist removal.

And this feature of our probationary life has both meaning and value. All classes of theorists admit that a fixed population is more apt to be moral than a floating one. In the English penal colony of Botany Bay, men guilty of all descriptions of crime become moral, orderly, and industrious. Those who must stay and meet the consequences of their acts, have stronger motives to act well than those who are able to fly from justice. But this principle may be of wider application. It is evident that if man's whole being were as moveable as we have supposed the freed spirit to be, human law and human government would be impossible, and even the power of public opinion would be vain. A man might commit murder, and the next moment fly to Orion or the Pleiades; and a police whose "beat" comprised the solar system only, would not be very efficient conservators of law and order. To set man free thus from all responsibility to his fellow, would lessen his incentives to do right. His fixedness aids his conscience and strengthens his virtues. He cannot abandon his field and leave behind him the consequences of his evil deeds. Justice, with her sword and scales, and Rumor, with her ten thousand babbling tongues, are upon his track, and nowhere on earth can he find sure concealment. Like a soldier who knows that the bridge behind him is destroyed, he feels that there is no retreat. He cannot defy the justice of his fellows, he cannot be independent of public opinion, and he feels that his reputation and his property, his peace at home, and his reception abroad, depend upon the manner in which he performs his duties toward society.

But his fixedness and his materiality not only prompt him to be just toward those around him, but supply him with motives for words and deeds of benevolence. Conscience tells us that we ought to care for the moral condition of those around us; but self-regard shows us plainly that we must care for them. The good and the bad are launched in the same vessel, and in many respects control each other's welfare. The immortal spirit of the good man is wrapped up in a perishable, material body, which needs food, and raiment, and shelter. He therefore buys a field, and building a house thereon, becomes a resident. But the very hour in which he moves into his dwelling he finds his happiness at the mercy of those around him. Were he purely spirit, he need not care whether he was surrounded by the heavenly choirs, or the legions of Apollyon. Deriving his joys direct from God, he would be wholly above the

reach of evil men or evil spirits. But constituted as he is, goodness in those around him increases his enjoyment of life, while sin in others gives him trouble. Crime can ravage his fields, burn his dwelling, shed his blood, and ruin his children in body and soul. Go where he will, he finds no spot secure from the effects of sin in his fellow-men, nor one beyond the good influence of their virtues. His earthly nature lays him open to the inroads of evil, and he is like a snail that has been stripped of his shell. His exposure compels him to look with concern upon those around him, and desire that they may be peaceable, just, and benevolent. He is convinced by the severe logic of daily experience that "no man liveth to himself alone." He sees that to reclaim a sinner is not only to "hide a multitude of sins," but also to render his own well-being more safe. Thus a wise self-regard aids the benevolent virtues. For aught that we know, an angel's happiness is wholly independent of the action of his fellow angels. But human happiness here on earth is made up of a thousand elements. It spreads its network of nerves over a large space; and, like the tendrils of neighboring vines, the mental, moral, and social interests of the community meet and intertwine, and take hold of each other in a thousand different ways, and if the smallest fiber is rent the whole mass feels the attack. Thus the dependence and exposure which grow out of the materiality of man's nature, compel him to regard the interests of his fellows, and aid him in the practice of the noblest and best of social virtues. This feature of his probation surely is neither accidental nor valueless.

2. Man's earthly nature subjects him to various wants, to supply which demands mental and physical exertion. Spirits need not food, and drink, and shelter; and though both angels and devils may be ever busy, yet they do not *work*; "spirits ne'er can tire," and their action involves no weariness, and consequently no self-mastery. But the human soul is wrapped in a body which must be fed and clothed; industry is a necessity, and industry includes many of the elements of virtue. No industrious person can be destitute of self-control. A thousand attractions solicit the attention, and bid the worker cease his employment, but he learns to stop his ears against their allurements, and keep on his way. His form becomes weary, and the employment toilsome, but he holds mind and muscle to their work, as the driver urges on his flagging horses. Labor influences morals for good, not merely because it occupies mind and body, and thus leaves less time for evil doing, but by teaching self-government. The labor of the muscles disciplines the mind. Continuous physical effort requires continuous mental effort, that

action of the mind which chooses an object, and applies the power of the will, with steady force, to its attainment. A young man who has learned to work industriously at any kind of manual labor, and who afterward becomes a student, or a merchant, will be the more likely to succeed, not only because labor has strengthened his whole system, and consequently given him increased brain power, but because he has acquired habits of application and persevering effort. The pen is one of the best means of disciplining the mind in close reasoning and exactness of expression, because the written words keep the thought before the eye and the mind, till the idea has been examined on every side, and every feature of the language employed has been well considered. But physical labor does more than train the reason. It cultivates hope, fortitude, perseverance, decision—the characteristics of an active efficient man. We sometimes call these the sterner virtues, and say that life here demands that we possess them, that we may patiently bear its ills and fight its battles. Not so; we put the cause for the effect, and the effect for the cause. Every element of life here has its bearing upon life hereafter; and the necessity for labor was imposed, that in dealing with that which is visible and tangible, the immaterial nature may be tamed and disciplined, and developed into more beautiful and harmonious growth.

The same reasoning holds good in regard to those whose labor is that of the mind instead of the muscles. Action is necessary in order to development, and material wants secure action. One man holds the plough and another the pen, and the same necessities may keep both in motion. Poets and orators, historians and men of science, would be still less numerous than they are, if empty fame were their sole reward. The most beautiful flower springs up from the lowly dust, the brightest gems are born deep in the dark earth; and the most brilliant electric flashes of genius have often been generated by the friction of the material and the immaterial, the spirit roused to lofty deeds by the clamors of its earthly comrade. Go into a library and remove every volume except those whose authors neither needed nor desired pay, direct or indirect, and the deepest science, the loftiest eloquence, and even the profoundest theology will be gone. From the aggregated results of the labors of the race, take all that our wants have had no agency in producing, and we return at once to barbarism. Had the men whom we count the great lights of their times, been presented in their youth with a million of money each, the names of very few of them would have reached our ears. Greatness is based on labor, and the whole tendency of labor is in the direction of mental growth and virtue. The physical wants,

therefore, which create the necessity for labor, mental and physical, form a valuable element of our probationary life.

3. Human wants enable us to practice, and consequently cultivate, the most ennobling of social virtues. In Christ's description of the last great day, those to whom heaven opens its portals are the compassionate, the actively benevolent. "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." The Apostle declares that "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction." No one will pretend that works like these purchase heaven; and yet, in the passages quoted, great stress is laid upon them. God delights in them, and they who engage therein from right motives, and in the right spirit, cultivate in their own souls the characteristics of God, and become "partakers of the Divine nature." These employments are not commended to the Christian solely as a test of his disposition to obey. They constitute one of the means whereby a newly created spirit is molded and disciplined, and, by sharing holy sympathies and Divine activities, is prepared for the sublimer life of heaven. But how could the spirit be beautified with pity, compassion, and kindness, if there were no one capable of feeling want and pain? Among mere spirits there is no Lazarus lying at the gate, no Bartimeus begging by the highway side; no Mary and Martha pouring out their tears on their brother's grave; no woman of Nain following the bier of her only son; no wanderer dying far away from his kindred; no widow desolate and heartbroken; no orphan homeless and friendless; no place for human sorrows, nor for deeds of human sympathy and love. But the soul is susceptible of growth as well as the body, and by right action its every attribute increases in power. Is it not well, then, that man is placed where the best emotions of his heart find a fitting sphere of action, and where he may not only adore, but even imitate the God of mercy and of grace? Man can act among his fellows more like God than can Gabriel. In fact our clearest, best, noblest idea of God himself is derived, not from the "throne, high and lifted up," with the hymning seraphim around; not from Sinai, with its fires, and its thunders, and its trembling summit; not from the great day of terror and of love, with its opening graves, its rising saints, and its words of doom; nor from the New Jerusalem, with its golden streets, thronged with the hosts of God; but from Immanuel, God manifest in the flesh; Jesus teaching the poor, holding forth a

brother's hand to the fallen, folding little children in his arms and blessing them, weeping at the grave of his friend, baring his brow to the thorns, and upon the cross forgetting his agony in his compassion for those that nailed him there, and expiring with the prayer, "Father, forgive them," upon his dying lips. Our union with matter gives rise to a thousand sweet ministries for which there would otherwise be no place, and thus our materiality becomes a valuable element in the probationary life of the soul.

Corporeal wants, too, join man to the throne of God. Angels may rejoice in the wisdom and power which called them into being, and devils may tremble at the might of him who can create and destroy, but man sees God in things near at hand and ever present. Every moment, he depends upon Divine goodness. Surrounded by many dangers, threatening every fiber of his sensitive nature, and every component of his temporal wellbeing, he has numberless admonitions to be as grateful as he is dependent. He treads God's earth, breathes God's air, beholds God's light, and lives upon the bread which God "giveth to the eater." Every human want is a link in the golden chain which binds man to his Maker; every sense is an avenue by which God's kindness reaches him, and every nerve of flesh is a telegraphic wire along which God sends the soul messages of love. The very element of his being which is most unlike God, is the means whereby he is brought into closest communion with him.

4. Our material nature furnishes the means of giving man a practical warning of the evil of sin, without involving him in endless woe. All pain, mental or physical, results from sin, in the sufferer or elsewhere. Every sorrowing tear shed on earth is a token of grief for the lost innocence of the race; every groan bewails the fall, and every tombstone commemorates the fact that death entered the world by sin. Many of our sufferings result directly from our own personal wrong doing. Sin in the heart tends to come to the surface; it presses the body into its service as an "instrument of unrighteousness." But when sin "reigns in our mortal body," it rends and destroys. It is a usurper and an enemy, and bone, and muscle, and nerve protest against it. Pain is the warning cry of the sentinel on life's outposts; and it not only bids us beware of the envenomed arrow, but points to the foe that sped it to its mark.

Thus our mortal body becomes the means of giving us sensible evidence that sin is an evil. Pain here, warns us to escape pain hereafter. It is the rattle of a deadly serpent, crying out to us to fly from the crushing coil and the venomous fang. To a being prone to moral evil, it is a mercy to dwell in a body that easily breaks down

under abuse; and God has so arranged it, that the very eagerness with which man pursues sin tends to cut short the pursuit. The more rapidly the prodigal wastes his substance with riotous living, the more rapidly does he approach the husks and repentant thoughts. A fallen angel, for aught we see, finds no halting place in his downward career. His nature is never weary, and his passions lead to no reaction. But in man the material part of his being acts as a brake on the wheels of transgression. Sensual satiety renders a longer indulgence tasteless and even hateful, and a reckless pursuit of wrong objects soon terminates by its own violence. Passion may rage for a time, but, from its connection with matter, the soul is incapable of perpetual emotion. Consequently man's mental state is full of alternate elevations and depressions. In the one he acts; in the other he reviews; and these involuntary changes of mood are far more favorable to growth in wisdom than a state of continuous emotion and ceaseless action. And this may be one of the subordinate reasons why God has given the human race a second probation. Man's material nature, and the material world which he inhabited, furnished the means of adapting his trial to his moral condition after the fall. The subjection of man to death, and the blighting of the ground, were not the natural results of man's sin. They form a part of the measures adopted by Divine wisdom to lessen the avidity with which a fallen nature would otherwise have plunged into the pleasures of sin, and thus to give him, speaking after the manner of men, a better "chance" to save his soul.

5. Our union with matter renders sleep needful, and sleep has moral value. Our physical states predispose to correspondent mental conditions. When the body is vigorous and every muscle is full of life, when the heart beats strong and the blood flows in full current, then the soul is most apt to be full of hope and courage, the sensations are most acute, the appetites and passions are strongest, and the whole being responds most forcefully to impulse and motive. This is the time for intense thought, high resolve, and vigorous action. But the hour of reaction comes, when the heart beats feebly and the life-tide ebbs, desire fails, the light upon our path fades, and we meditate, examine, and reflect. These alternations are good. It is well for us to view life amid the deepening shadows of waning day, as well as amid the rosy tints of the morning; and from our union with matter we are led, almost necessarily, to view it in different aspects. The soul grows not feeble by age; the mind never wearies with its own action, but the body drags upon it like a weight. Thus labor results in weariness, and activity is followed by reflection. We must rest; and sleep has value, not

merely in restoring material waste, but in breaking up our life into fragments. In the morning the aged man, refreshed and restored, feels a portion of the vital force of his early years return; and in the evening the young man, worn down by the labors of the day, experiences a languor, both of mind and body, which is akin to the weakness and decay of age. Every day is, in fact, a little life. Every morning we are born anew, and every night we stretch ourselves upon the death-bed of a day. In order that we may sleep, all excitement must die away, the heart must beat calmly, passion cease, and our whole nature become quiescent and inert. In the hour when slumber is approaching, and we passively await its leaden touch, the mind surveys the past without emotion, and decides rationally and dispassionately. We reflect upon the events of the day, somewhat as the dying reflect upon those of a lifetime; the veil falls from our action, self-deception loses its power, and we see things in their true colors, our thoughts excusing or accusing us before the relentless tribunal of conscience. But sleep creeps on. The light fades from our eyes, and the sounds of earth die away upon the ear. At last sight, and sound, and consciousness are gone; the soul is a blank, and the body is virtually dead. We no more belong to the thinking, acting world. A portion of our life is finished, its history is written to the last line, and entered upon the eternal record.

But the morning comes, and with it our daily resurrection. The past lives in our memories, to teach, to encourage, or to warn. Again we survey its actions and its results, while the passions of the past are no longer present to blind our eyes and mislead our reason. Thus our own history instructs us by example, and experience utters its lessons of wisdom. Thus impulse, emotion, and action alternate with repose and reflection; and these alternations, so regular, so inevitable, are valuable aids to virtue in a being so liable as man to be deceived by his own appetites and passions. Sleep, then, has moral value; and the periodical demand of rest, which the material enforces upon the immaterial, has a deeper meaning and a higher importance than mere physical renewal.

6. The sweetest and strongest ties of nature arise from our materiality. What better sight on earth than a family where the instinctive attachments and social affections which God has implanted within us, are seen in their native beauty and strength. The mother clasps her infant with a love that can brave all danger and endure all suffering. How pure and enduring the love which binds brother and sister to each other. How holy the regard which children have for their parents. How rich is such a household in

the wealth of the heart. And who shall say that all this is a mere temporary device, good only because productive of good results in this world? Not so. Love is the great educator of the soul. He that feels attachment, though the object be nothing but a dog, is the better for it. That disinterested regard which prompts to seek the good of the loved, is the friend of virtue. It curbs the sterner tendencies of our fallen nature, and opens the heart to all gentle influences and kindly emotions.

But angels "neither marry nor are given in marriage." Angels are not fathers or mothers, sons or daughters, and, as far as we can see, the existence of one has no essential connection with that of any other created being. Unfallen spirits stand before the throne of Jehovah, rejoicing in his love, and in the raptures of measureless devotion, but their regard for each other, so far as revealed to us, is only that love which springs from the mutual recognition of the Divine image. Devils are alienated from God, and isolated from each other, and if, as Milton pretends, they "firm concord hold," it is only the union of malignity for the sake of strength; the concord of wolves united to attack a victim otherwise too strong for them.

But love and friendship are instinctive in the human heart, and though they do not constitute piety toward God, they are aids to virtue. Every body recognizes the fact that an isolated man, without relatives and friends, and having none dependent upon him, and caring for none, is far more exposed to moral evil than they who hourly meet loving eyes and press loving hands. God saw at the beginning what is best for man. "He setteth the solitary in families;" and, other things being equal, he is the safest from moral danger over whom domestic ties have the most power.

Another result of the present arrangement is worthy of note. By virtue of his materiality, man enters the world a helpless infant, and passes through the various stages of childhood, youth, and maturity, to old age. In infancy and childhood he is comparatively passive, and, from the very necessity of the case, is subject to control. Self-mastery is an important element of all virtue, and children, by subjection to authority, acquire it. If the parent compels the passionate child to cease from his angry gestures and angry cries, the child, after all, must battle alone with his own passion, and overcome it. When parental rule urges a child to some unwelcome task, the child's own will, nevertheless, drives his muscles to their duty. Parental control supplies new motives for right conduct, but has no power to lessen resisting forces, or render right conduct, in itself, more easy. And when the child has acquired the power of abstaining from what he desires, and of doing that which is wearisome or distasteful, he

has begun to acquire the power to govern himself. Subjection to authority, therefore, subdues and disciplines the soul. But the spirit becomes subject to control by reason of its union with matter. The body is the handle by which one soul seizes another. Because it is clothed in a material body, the spirit of the child cannot escape; and even physical chastisement is a mode in which the immaterial nature is wrought upon and tamed by means of the material. The union of spirit with matter is the means whereby man, in the most docile, impressible stage of his existence, becomes capable of being governed; and all human experience testifies that the first few years of life exert a powerful influence, for good or evil, upon all that come after, and even upon eternal destiny.

It is true that a heartless, despotic rule tends to harden and demoralize; but God has guarded against this by implanting in the parental heart the strong instincts of parental love; and the child will not be morally injured by a government whose most unwelcome acts are but brief episodes in a history made up of tenderness and self-forgotten devotion.

Is not the relation of parent and child, then, a beautiful device for subjecting an immortal spirit to formative influences? The newly-created being, almost passive under impression, is placed in the custody of another, older spirit, who is bound by the strongest natural impulses to seek its good; and before it can possibly escape that control, its character begins to assume shape and solidity, and oftentimes the whole boundless future is foreshadowed. But, as far as we can see, this subjection could have no existence without the body. Angels act independently of each other, and are wise or otherwise, each for himself. In the apostasy that occurred before the fall of man, each spirit, so far as revelation informs us, decided his own fate independently of others. The first voluntary act of sin changed the angel to the devil; and from that moment every pure existence looked with horror and loathing upon it. But among mortals it is not so. Ours is the probation of impure spirits; the first sin does not render hopeless, nor cut off forever from holy influences and the ministries of love; and in forming the parental relation, God has ordained that the new spirit, though impure, shall be met, at the very threshold of conscious existence, with the proof that it is not friendless. A devil has never had a friend, from the fatal hour when it became a devil; but, by the wise arrangement of Him whose mercy endureth forever, even the incorrigible human transgressor is the object of compassion and love, till he drops into the fire that never shall be quenched.

However deep the abyss of depravity and crime into which the

child falls, the affections of the parent still follow and embrace. In the prison, or even on the scaffold, surrounded by a raging crowd clamoring for his life, the mother clasps her son to her bosom with a love that "floods cannot drown." And who shall measure the blessed results of this heaven-implanted affection? How little of evil arises from it, even among the fallen. How powerful for good to parents and children. When strong temptation came upon the soul like a flood, and barriers of virtue were giving way, many a man, by a vision of little innocent faces at home, has been saved from crime and ruin. And though pious parents may long have slept the sleep of death, their example, their admonitions, and their prayers still live in the memory of their child; and though he may wander far from the path of peace, a voice within, small and still, yet louder in the spirit's ear than many waters, tells the story of their love, and cries, Return. Among the angels, the first transgression drew a line between the evil and the good; and at once hatred and envy on the one side, and horror and aversion on the other, arose, to last evermore. But when his fellow falls, man forsakes him not utterly, nor feels at once "immortal hate," such as must have sprung up between Lucifer and Gabriel. Saints pity sinners, and love them; and, next to the assurance that God loves them and Christ died for them, human sympathy and love are, of reclaiming influences, the strongest and surest to melt and win the heart of the fallen.

But we cannot, at present, pursue further this, to us, interesting subject. Matter is the educator of the soul. The infant intellect is first roused into activity by the visible and tangible things around it, and for years matter is our great teacher, exciting the senses, spurring the reason, calling into action every mental faculty, and training the whole into symmetry and strength. The instincts of our social nature and the ties of kindred bind us to our fellows, and prompt us to the benevolent duties of practical Christianity. Materiality supplies the means whereby we reach the evil and the good, and make our kindness manifest to the just and the unjust. By means of the press man graves high and holy thought upon that which many hands can handle and many eyes behold. Light and the optic nerve are the telegraph which unites the minds of millions; and while an angelic messenger may in a dream warn some Joseph to arise and save his household, or strengthen the sufferer in Gethsemane, a man like Paul, or John, or Luther, or Wesley is able to speak in the ear of nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and open fountains of blessing, whose streams shall sweep on till time shall be no more. Materiality has an important part in our new probation. When man sinned, the created world, changed for his sake, furnished

the field of a new state of trial, suited to his fallen nature. Materiality is closely connected with our redemption. God has been "manifest in the flesh;" and by the assumption of a material body, Christ not only became capable of physical suffering, but also identified himself with the race, and became our brother. Materiality renders us a race, instead of a mere aggregate of independent existences; and thus, as physical vitality and moral corruption descend to us from Adam, so from Christ, the second Adam, we receive the new birth and life everlasting. Instead, therefore, of bewailing the indignity which the soul suffers in its union with matter, would it not be wiser for us to say, with the Psalmist: "I WILL PRAISE THEE, FOR I AM FEARFULLY AND WONDERFULLY MADE?"

ART. V.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA.

1. *Cyclopædia of Missions*, by NEWCOMB.
2. *History of the Methodist Episcopal Missions*, by DR. BANGS.
3. *History of American Baptist Missions*, by W. GAMMELL.
4. *Annual Reports of the various Missionary Societies*.
5. *Executive Documents*.

CHRISTIAN missions, wherever they have been established and prosecuted by the Church of Christ, are subjects of abiding and extensive interest, whether considered in their past history, their present influence, or their future promise. In all these respects they are, and have been, of very great importance to America. There is no country for which Christian missions have done more than for ours; nor is there a country which offers a wider field for their present usefulness than this. We have feared that the importance of missions to us as a people, and our importance to them for the conversion of the world, have been overlooked, or, at least, under-estimated, by the Church, whose work it is to prosecute them. This may be a groundless fear; the Church may see her whole duty clearly in this connection, and feel her entire responsibility; if so, our articles may still serve to stir up to increased activity. For our facts we shall draw upon the reports and other publications of the various missionary societies; and the more connected histories of missions. In accordance with usage, we have placed some of these works at the head of this article.

By America, in this connection, we include the entire continent, for we consider this the legitimate mission-field for the American Protestant Church. Our attention, however, will be more particularly given to the United States and Territories; because of their greater importance to us, and pre-eminent claims upon us.

In order that we may have a more distinct view of our subject, we will divide American missions into *Native* and *Foreign*; and briefly sketch the history, condition, and prospects of each.

In our native missions we include first, those established among the Indians.

The modern Protestant missionary spirit had its *origin* in connection with the New World, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The spirit of adventure was directed hither, and Christian sympathy allied itself with it in behalf of the savage aborigines. The first actual development of this spirit was in connection with a French Colony to Brazil, in 1555. At the suggestion of Admiral de Coligny, two Protestant ministers were sent out with the expedition, under promise of protection from Villegagnon, the leader, who was a Romanist. As usual, faith was not kept with heretics, and by ill-treatment the missionaries were compelled to re-embark for France. We can but imagine how different would have been the history of Brazil, if the Reformed religion had been permitted to establish itself there.

The colonists to the New World, whether Protestant or Roman, professed to seek, as one of their principal objects, the salvation of the heathen. It may be proper for us to glance at some of the more prominent of the Roman missions, though we are not disposed to accord to them the character of Christian missions, without very great abatement. The true character of these missions may be seen in the following extracts from an "agreement" between the King of Spain and Oñate, a Spanish adventurer in Mexico, in 1595. One article stipulated that the king should furnish him "six priests, with a full complement of books, ornaments, and church accoutrements," for the purpose of Christianizing the savage inhabitants. In another article we find the following significant inquiries:

"In case the natives are unwilling to come quietly to the acknowledgment of the true Christian faith, and listen to the evangelical word, and give obedience to the king our sovereign, what shall be done with them, that we may proceed according to the laws of the Catholic Church, and the ordinances of his majesty? And what tributes, that they may be Christianly borne, shall be imposed upon them, as well for the crown as for the adventurers?"

This furnishes a correct idea of Romish missions in the New World. Tribute was the great object.

The most successful missions of the Romanists were in South America and California. The Jesuits have been the pioneer missionaries. In 1586 they commenced their celebrated missions in the interior of South America, of which the city of Cordova became the center. The priests made extensive and toilsome journeys among the Indian tribes, and soon reported hundreds of thousands of converts to Christianity. The Romish priests, however, have great facility in making converts among the heathen. Baptism and the reception of the cross and a string of beads by the subject are sufficient. In 1602 the general of the Jesuits recommended the South American missionaries to form their converts into fixed settlements, instead of pursuing them as wandering tribes. In this work they were wonderfully successful, and laid the foundations of that vast Jesuitical establishment, which has been the subject of so much political and religious discussion.

In 1642 their towns or townships numbered *twenty-nine*; and the form of their government had attained a perfection that was the envy of every other in Spanish America. We cannot trace the history of their operations now, though it is an exceedingly interesting one. Their establishment became a vast political power, and a source of immense revenue. Some of the most intelligent Spanish writers have estimated that the fathers of these missions transmitted to their superiors in Europe an annual amount of *nine hundred thousand pounds sterling*. They were conducted on Onate's principle of "tribute" from the Indians. The Jesuits were driven out of the country in 1767, and their missions soon went to ruin.

Their next largest and most successful missionary enterprise in the New World, was among the California Indians; and as early as 1612 the Canada missions were begun, also by Jesuits. Indeed the indefatigable Romish missionary has traversed the length and breadth of this vast continent; but we look in vain for the evidences of Scriptural Christianity in his track among the heathen. And these missions, such as they were, are now no longer prosecuted. Romanism is doing nothing for the Indians in South America; nothing for them in Mexico, or California, or in the territories. There are more signs of life, perhaps, in their Canadian missions. But, be this as it may, Christianity has nothing to expect, in the way of advancement, from Romish missions.

Our Protestant fathers, also, set forth, in the charter of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colony, their great desire to convert the Indians; and honestly and earnestly was this work commenced by them, soon after their arrival in the New World. Individual efforts were first made for their benefit, and were crowned with satisfactory results.

In 1636 colonial action was taken, and laws were passed for preaching the Gospel to the Indians. And this, we believe, was the *first united Protestant missionary effort* in behalf of the heathen world. It was a whole generation before the efforts made under the auspices of the "Dutch East India Company" in Ceylon. This movement by the colonists in New-England, led to the formation of the first society in the mother country for the propagation of the Gospel. This society was formed about the middle of the seventeenth century, by the Nonconformists of England, and its funds appropriated for the benefit of the North American Indians. Bishop Burnet says this example of the Nonconformists was the occasion of the formation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," in 1698, by the members of the Church of England. The records of the beginnings of missionary effort are very imperfect, and difficult of access; but, so far as we can learn, the first Protestant missionary organization was the one above named among the Non-conformists. This is a matter, to say the least of it, gratifying to American Christians, that the *great modern missionary movement*, by which the world is to be instrumentally saved, had its beginning in connection with our own country, and found its first field of labor upon our own soil, and among our "red brethren."

The Rev. John Eliot had the honor of being the first minister of Christ who devoted himself *exclusively* to missionary work among the Indians. This he did as early as 1646. Having learned the language of the Mohegans, he preached Christ to them, and translated the word of God for them, and witnessed its saving power on many of these wretched sons of the desert.

And here we have another interesting historical fact. This translation of the Scriptures was the *first Bible printed in America*. The first American Bible, and for the American Indians! How exceedingly appropriate was this. And was it not, also, the very first translation of the Scriptures in connection with missionary work to the heathen, and the forerunner of the hundreds made under the patronage of modern Bible societies? This translation, by Eliot, was made only thirty-five years after that of King James into English. Dr. Cotton Mather says it was all written with *one pen*.

This work, so early and so nobly begun, was crowned with great success. In a short time, under the labors of Eliot, hundreds of Indians renounced their heathenism and embraced Christianity. As early as 1660 he had gathered *ten settlements* of Indians, who were comparatively civilized, and under religious influence. At the same time Thomas Mayhew was prosecuting a similar work, on the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, with even greater

success than that of Eliot. He was subsequently lost at sea, in a voyage undertaken for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the mother country in the cause of the Indians. After his death, his aged father, who was Governor of Martha's Vineyard, was so moved with concern for the perishing, that he applied himself to the acquisition of the language of the Indians, and preached Christ to them until he was ninety-three years of age. In 1674 there were upon these two islands one thousand five hundred *praying Indians*. In 1675 King Philip's war broke out. The missionary settlements of Eliot were in the center of the theater of this war. Many of the Christian Indians would have remained neutral; but Philip attacked them, and drove them into hostility; the commotions that followed not only prevented the progress of the Gospel, but destroyed much that had been done. War blasted all these opening religious prospects of the poor Indians; and war provoked, too, by the aggressions of the white man. This was the golden age of the Indian missions. It is doubtful whether there has ever been since a season of equal prosperity and promise.

From the commencement of King Philip's war, Indian missions languished. Indeed the colonies were in a state of political agitation and warfare, with the French, or the Indians, or the home government, for one hundred years; with scarcely ten years' peace at any one time, until the close of the American Revolution. With such a state of affairs, Christianity could not prosecute her missionary work among the heathen. She did not even maintain her influence among the colonists.

There is one bright but brief page in this bloody century of American history, in connection with the Indians. In 1743 David Brainerd, a noble youth, sanctified by grace, began his missionary career, with a purity and zeal that could not but command success, and revive the interest in the missionary cause. The Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge became interested for the American aborigines, and determined to support two missionaries among them. Brainerd was one of their missionaries. He entered upon this work with a full appreciation of its difficulties. In surveying it, he said: "To the eye of reason everything that respects the conversion of the heathen is as dark as midnight." But how soon did light break forth from darkness. In less than one year after commencing his labors, he had occasion to write of the things which his eyes had seen, thus: "Methought this had a near resemblance to the day of God's power." So great a work of grace had broken out among his Indians at the Forks of the Delaware, that scores of them turned away from idolatry, to serve the living and true God. His

career was short, only four years, when he was called to his reward on high. But his zeal and great success gave a new impetus to Indian missions.

We would not intimate that Brainerd's were the only missionary efforts during this period. They were prominent, because of their great success. There was John Sergeant, at Stockbridge, among the Mohegans, in 1734; and John Wesley, in Georgia, in 1735; Azariah Horton, on Long Island, in 1741; and Dr. Wheelock's seminary, at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1748; and many other laborers were toiling in the field at various points, with more or less success. But the continuing and increasing hostilities between the English and French, in 1744, and again in 1756, in which the Indians were always involved, and then the restlessness of the colonies under the British yoke, and the precursors of the Revolution of 1776, interfered with and broke up the missionary establishments, and scattered the Indians in the wilderness, literally as sheep without a shepherd.

And here we may end the first period of American missions. And upon reviewing it, though we cannot give the results in detail in this paper, we are fully persuaded that no missions have been more successful than those among our own Indians. Whenever the missionaries, under circumstances at all favorable, addressed themselves to the work, they met with success; and success almost unparalleled among any other heathen people, utterly refuting the oft-repeated assertion, that nothing can be done for the Indian.

Look at the interesting and encouraging group of facts, already found, in connection with our American Indian missions, the oldest Protestant missions in the world: the first Bible for the heathen, translated by the first missionary to the Indians; the first Bible printed in America was this very translation; the first Protestant missionary society formed, if not *in* our country, yet was formed for its benefit; and mark the wonderful success of these missions. And surely, in view of all these things, American Indian missions address themselves powerfully to American Christians, and present strong claims for respect and support.

We now enter upon the nineteenth century, when denominational missionary societies began to be formed in our country. We will sketch the work of the principal of these societies among our Indians, down to the present time, which we will call the second historical period.

Previous to the extensive missionary organizations which we shall notice, there were societies formed in individual churches for the spread of the Gospel, which merit a notice we cannot give for want of space.

The "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" was formed in 1810. The great work of this Board is in foreign lands, but it has not been entirely inattentive to the wants of home. Its first Indian mission was commenced among the Cherokees, in 1817; and in 1818 a mission was established among the Choctaws. These missions were exceedingly prosperous for several years; but governmental interference, and the removal of the tribes west of the Mississippi, interrupted the labor and destroyed much good. These missions, however, still exist. With the above exception, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions made no attempts for the benefit of Indians for several years. There were some two or three missions transferred to their care, which had been commenced by other societies. This Board reported at its FORTY-SEVENTH anniversary, twenty-four stations, distributed among seven Indian tribes, comprising 1,691 members. Two of these stations, judging from the last report, have only a nominal existence; and no one of the others seems to be prosecuted vigorously and hopefully.

The Board has also, within the last few years, abandoned the following fields of Indian labor: the Osages, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Pawnees, and the Oregon Indians. Why so little has been attempted, and that little so inefficiently prosecuted, and consequently so little accomplished, by this the oldest, the strongest, and the *American* Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is not ours to answer. But we do think there has been a neglect of home that is not excusable. The history of Indian missions will not justify it. In 1823 their missionaries wrote: "We think it would be impossible to show any substantial reasons for thinking that the aborigines of America are in a more hopeless state than the inhabitants of Africa or Asia. That such a belief is erroneous, is incontrovertibly manifest from the labors of Eliot, the Mayhews, Brainerd, and the United Brethren." The Board responds to this sentiment, thus: "Beyond all reasonable doubt, Divine truth is as likely to be efficacious upon the heart of a Cherokee, who has arrived at mature age, as upon any other man who has grown up in ignorance and sin." But while hundreds of thousands have been expended upon the Asiatic, a small pittance only has been doled out to save the American.

The American Baptist Union is also one of the largest and most efficient missionary organizations in our country. In its general labors it has been blessed with great success. Its first Indian mission dates back to 1817, and was located on the banks of the Wabash, at Fort Wayne, in the midst of the Potawatomes, Kickapoos, Miamis, and Ottawas Indian tribes speaking substantially the same language.

In the same year, also, missions were commenced among the Creeks and Cherokees of the South. The mission to the latter nation has been continued to the present, and has been a successful one.

But the Baptist, like its sister societies, has devoted only a very small portion of its efforts and funds to the aborigines of America. Its missionaries, with unwearied step, have pursued the Karen in the jungles of Burmah; but have halted on our Western borders, and turned back, faint and discouraged, in following the red men toward the setting sun.

From the last Annual Report we take the following statistics:

Indian Missions	3
Missionaries.....	6
Members	1570
Pupils.....	130

Such is the present condition of the Indian missions of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Alas for the poor Indian!

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been a prominent laborer in the Indian field. The origin of the work of this society in connection with John Steward, a free colored man, was certainly providential. He commenced his labors among the Wyandots in 1816. Steward was blessed in his efforts, and his work was recognized by the Ohio Annual Conference in 1819. In the year 1821 the Rev. J. B. Finley, who still lives,* was appointed to the special charge of this mission. It was remarkably blessed of God; many Indians were converted, and the death of many is recorded full of hope.

This society prosecuted its Indian missions with more vigor and success than any similar institution. In 1832 it had under its care *seventeen missions*, comprising six thousand eight hundred and three members, with eight hundred and twenty-four children in the Indian schools. Here was a success which ought to satisfy the most incredulous, that the American Indian was not beyond the reach of the power of the Gospel. And it ought to have been received by the Methodist Episcopal Church as a *special call to this field of labor*.

But this society also has permitted its attention and efforts to be turned away from the Indians, among whom it gathered its first-fruits and richest harvests of missionary toil; and now, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, its Indian missionary statistics show but little increase. In 1854, the last date we have of the combined statistics of

* Died since the above was written.

the Wesleyan Missions in Canada, which formerly belonged to this society, and those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the whole number of members was seven thousand three hundred and seventy-two, and scholars one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight. Since 1854 there may have been a small increase, but we presume not enough to change the general impression sought from our Indian work. The Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1857, gives the number of Indian members and probationers under its care at one thousand three hundred and thirty-four.

In the Minutes of the meeting of the General Missionary Committee of this Church, in last November, we find this note in reference to the Indian work:

"The committee turned to our Indian Missions with fear, which ripened into deep regret upon a calm inquiry into their condition. The result was a conviction that we ought to adhere to the policy heretofore adopted, of reducing their number, and concentrating them at much fewer points, and thus increase their efficiency and lessen their expense. The Committee allow \$10,350 for service in our Indian Missions for 1857."

In this minute we can find nothing hopeful for the poor Indian. No plans of enlargement. No purpose expressed of pursuing him into the dense forest.*

But we cannot sketch the history of all the societies which have done something for the American heathen. Those named furnish the brightest examples of interest and effort in their behalf, and these the brightest, are sufficiently shadowy, and are still deepening into darker shades.

We will give the "General Tabular View" of the Indian work, as found in the "Cyclopedia of Missions:—"

SOCIETIES.	When commenced.	Stations.	Ministries.	Assistant Ministers.	Native Helpers.	Churches.	Members.	Schools.	Scholars.
Presbyterian Board.....	1835	11	8	55	3	...	96	...	517
American Baptist Union.....	1817	10	7	8	9	14	1,371	6	210
Methodist E. Church, North and South	1819	44	46	...	...	...	5,359	...	1,884
Wesleyan Missionary Society.....	1828	...	22	...	28	...	2,003	13	74
American Board.....	1818	24	21	73	15	19	1,669	26	718
American Missionary Association.....	1843	4	2	17	...	3	12	...	39
Church Missionary Society.....	1822	10	8	3	9	...	507	22	724
Moravians.....	...	4	8	7	...	...	...	...	...
American Indian Miss'ary Association	.....	6	28	...	...	21	1,300	...	165
Total.....	.....	113	150	163	64	57	12,317	67	4,331

* Since the above was written, the same committee, at their meeting in November, 1857, in making the estimate for 1858, appropriated \$6,650.

Here we have before us the sum total of the remaining results (this side of heaven) of all that American Christians have done for American heathens for more than *two centuries*. Here is the result of the combined efforts of missionary societies, for a people nearest their own threshold; and who have in justice and grace the first claims upon their sympathies and help. Here is what is being done by more than three millions of Christians for their wronged red brother.

We will now turn our attention to the present extent of the Indian field, and contemplate the amount of work yet to done in this department of American missions, with the opportunities offered for doing it. The rapid decrease of the Indian population is a melancholy truth, but yet there remains a "remnant to be saved," if the Church will.

Within the limits of the government of the United States alone, there are still remaining about *four hundred thousand Indians*.

Honorable George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his Report for 1853, locates them as follows:

"About 18,000 yet linger in some of the states east of the Mississippi River, principally in New-York, Michigan, and Wisconsin; the remainder, consisting of Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles, being in North Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida. The number in Minnesota, and along the frontiers of the Western States to Texas, comprising mainly emigrated tribes, is estimated at 110,000; those of the plains and Rocky Mountains, and not within any of our organized territories, at 63,000; those in Texas at 29,000; those in New-Mexico at 45,000; those in California at 100,000; those in Utah at 12,000; and those in the territories of Oregon and Washington at 23,000."

We may divide the Indians into semi-civilized and savage tribes. Those in our states are principally of the former character, with many more in our organized territories. The semi-civilized amount, perhaps, to 150,000: the savage tribes amount to some 250,000. Many of the "tame Indians," as they are called in Western parlance, are located on their lands, and in communities of considerable size, engaged in agriculture; and consequently accessible for missionary work. And it is among these that our few feeble missions are found; but not among all of these, by a large majority. We judge that the American Churches have not missionaries in *one fourth* of the Indian settlements. We know of some large communities, permanently settled, and have been for years, which are entirely destitute of missionary labors. In the territory of New-Mexico there is a class of semi-civilized Indians (Pueblos) living in towns containing from a few hundreds to upward of one thousand inhabitants, easily accessible to missionaries, but neglected

by the Church. The villages of these Indians, including those recently acquired by the Gadsden Treaty, number about *forty*; comprising a population of at least 15,000 souls. Among all these villages there is, we believe, but one that has a Christian minister.

Governor Merriwether, of New-Mexico, and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory, in his Report for 1854, thus calls attention to these Indians:

"The Pueblo, or partially civilized Indians, are a very interesting portion of the Indian population of this territory, and richly deserve the fostering hand of government. They hold their lands under special grants from the governments of Spain and Mexico; many of which are of very ancient date, one that I examined being dated in 1661. . . . These Indians cultivate the soil mostly with rude implements of their own construction, except the spade and hoe, which have recently been introduced among them by the traders; and enough grain, vegetables, and fruits are produced to sustain themselves in comfort and plenty. Indeed these people will compare favorably, in their agricultural labors and productions, with the citizens generally of this territory; and they have horses, mules, cattle, asses, sheep, and goats, sufficient for ordinary purposes. As a general rule they are a frugal, sober, and industrious people. A few individuals among them can read and write in the Castilian language, but the remainder are destitute of education, though most of them speak that language."

Again he says: "I would most earnestly recommend the establishment of schools by the government in each Pueblo." And we will add, that many of the leading men among these Indians are exceedingly anxious that schools should be established among them; and the government is criminally negligent in not providing schools for them.

Now here is a field of missionary labor made ready to the hand of the Church, and, from personal observation, we are convinced that it is a promising one. The Church is inexcusable for not entering it. We should add, perhaps, that these Pueblo Indians are all claimed by the Romanists as converts. A Roman Catholic authority says: "The natives of New-Mexico were converted, and being now Christians, are not considered a mission."

The Navajoes are another large tribe of Indians living in this territory. They number from 8,000 to 10,000 souls, and are also located; not in villages, but in a specified district of country. They cultivate the soil, and raise an abundance of corn and wheat to supply their wants, and have numerous herds of horses, and sheep, and mules, and horned cattle. They manufacture their own clothes, principally from the wool of their own sheep, and it is a rare thing to see a Navajoe meanly clad. Their blankets and basket work are superior articles. By their fellow-Indians they are considered a rich tribe.

These Navajoes are in constant intercourse with the Mexicans and Americans in the territory, and consequently accessible for missionary effort. Yet they are left destitute. The Baptist Home Missionary Society did make some attempt to establish a mission among them, but it was inefficiently planned and prosecuted, and soon abandoned.

These cases are but samples of many equally neglected, needy, and accessible to the missionary, in this widely extended Indian field. And those tribes and settlements where missionaries nominally exist, are not half provided for. We doubt whether the entire American Church can point to a single Indian mission fully manned and vigorously worked. Indeed, if there be the number we suppose, *one hundred and fifty thousand* of semi-civilized Indians, under the government of the United States, and only *twelve thousand Church members*, both the extent and the neglect of this part of the field is seen at a glance.

But this is a very small part of the American Indian field, and the Church must not be circumscribed in her missionary operations by the limits of the United States government. In Mexico it is supposed there are about *four millions* of Indians, many of whom are semi-civilized, perhaps half. There are also in Mexico two and a half millions of mixed races, two thirds of whom are half Indian; these are all at least semi-civilized, as well as Romanized. Here is an accessible Indian field containing not less than *three millions of souls*. What excuse has the American Church for not entering and cultivating it? We take it for granted that the obstacles thrown in the way by Romanism in any part of America, might be overcome by a united effort on the part of Protestantism.

In the Canadas, also, there are several thousand Indians of this same class.

South America has a large Indian population; and, according to their own estimates, there are not less than *three millions* of them semi-civilized. We consider all these accessible to American Protestants. The same energy, perseverance, and sacrifice made by our missionaries in other countries, would be sufficient to overcome the difficulties connected with these. But for these *six millions* of Indians, semi-civilized, in Mexico and South America, American Protestantism has done nothing! The entire American Indian field contains not less than *seven millions of semi-civilized Indians*. To which we must add at least as many more, who are found in a savage, or rather uncivilized state; but who are not, therefore, beyond the reach of the Gospel; making an aggregate of *fourteen millions* of immortal souls. Surely the Indian field is a

large one, and the American Churches need not go from home to find work.

But we wish to direct attention again to the Indians within the limits of the United States government, for the salvation of whom our Churches should feel more immediately responsible, and for whom they should make their first, strongest, and most persevering efforts. There are many reasons for this. They are the nearest heathen to us; this is *prima-facie* evidence that they should be helped first. But our special relations with them demand it; we are occupying their homes, we have reduced them to beggary, our influence is mysteriously, yet rapidly hurrying them into eternity; therefore we should help them first, and help them most earnestly.

Our attention has been arrested by the contrast between the Church and State on this subject; and, as a Christian minister, we confess, also, to mortification in connection therewith. On the part of the officers of government in this department, we find a hopeful tone, encouraging representations, and earnest pleadings for the Indian; while on the part of the Church there is discouragement, abandonment, despondency, and silence.

In evidence, we would ask the reader to turn back to the encouraging account given by Governor Merriwether, of the Pueblo Indians in New-Mexico. And for further proof we would direct attention to the last Report of the Indian Department, by Honorable G. W. Manypenny. Of the attempt to colonize the Indians of Texas, which was commenced in 1855, he says:

"In every point of view the enterprise, in its present state and future prospects, is more encouraging than its most sanguine friends had anticipated."

Of a similar attempt in California, he says:

"The Indians in every part of California have been made acquainted with the policy of the government with reference to them; and, except where prejudiced by the false representations of interested white persons, are pleased with it. The number upon and in communication with the reservations and farms, is now about ten thousand, and increasing as the means for their accommodation are extended."

Again:

"Notwithstanding the warlike character of the Delaware Indians, and the wrong and injury they have suffered at the hands of the whites, they have maintained a steady neutrality in all the difficulties of Kansas. Their means have been applied to repairing their buildings and extending their farms. A commodious Methodist church has been erected by them, a large school building is in course of construction, and they express great anxiety about the education of their children. They have enjoyed good health the past season, and slightly increased in numbers."

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These are specimens of the particular notices given of tribes and communities. There are many others equally hopeful. The summing up is as follows:

"In reviewing the events of the past year with reference to the improvement of our Indian population, there appear within the reserves of several tribes such unmistakable manifestations of progress, as to excite and stimulate our lawgivers and the benevolent and philanthropic of the land, to a more lively and active interest in the present condition and future prospects of the race, and to invite an increased effort and energy in the cause of Indian civilization. That the red man can be transformed in his habits, domesticated, and civilized, and made a useful element in society, there is abundant evidence. With reference to his true character, erroneous opinions very generally prevail. He is indeed the victim of prejudice. He is only regarded as the irreclaimable, terrible savage, who in war spares neither age nor sex, but with heartless and cruel barbarity subjects the innocent and defenseless to inhuman tortures, committing with exultant delight the most horrible massacres. These are chronicled from year to year, and are, indeed, sad chapters in our annals. But the history of the sufferings of the Indian has never been written, the story of his wrongs never been told. Of these there is not, and never can be, an earthly record.

"As a man he has his joys and his sorrows. His love for his offspring is intense. In his friendships he is steadfast and true, and will never be the first to break faith. His courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture, and can be elevated to a fair standard. He can be taught the arts of peace, and is by no means inapt in learning to handle agricultural and mechanical implements, and applying them to their appropriate uses. With these qualities, although the weaker, he is eminently entitled to the kind consideration of the stronger race."

We cannot refrain from making another extract from the Report of the same officer, for 1854. Speaking of the Indians in our Western territories, he says:

"It is, therefore, in my judgment, clear, beyond doubt or question, that the emigrated tribes in Kansas territory are permanently there; there to be thoroughly civilized, and to become a constituent portion of the population, or there to be destroyed or exterminated. What a spectacle for the view of the statesman, philanthropist, Christian; a subject for the most profound consideration and reflection! With reservations dotting the eastern portion of the territory, there they stand, the representatives and remnants of tribes once as powerful and dreaded as they are now weak and dispirited. By alternate persuasion and force, some of these tribes have been removed, step by step, from mountain to valley, and from river to plain, until they have been pushed half way across the continent. They can go no further; on the ground they now occupy the crisis must be met, and their future determined. Among them may be found the educated, civilized, and converted Indian, the benighted and inveterate heathen, and every intermediate grade. But there they are, and as they are, with outstanding obligations in their behalf of the most solemn and imperative character, voluntarily assumed by the government. Their condition is a critical one, such as to entitle them not only to the justice of the government, but to the most profound sympathy of the people. Extermination may be their fate, but not of necessity. By a union of good influences and proper effort, I believe they may and will be saved, and their complete civilization effected."

Where do we find such hopeful views, favorable representations, and earnest pleadings for the Indian on the part of the Church? They are not found in any of the current Annual Reports of Missionary Societies.

These pleadings of the Honorable "Commissioner of Indian Affairs," are creditable to his humanity, statesmanship, and Christianity. Would that his tones might arouse a hopeless, effortless Church to action in behalf of the wronged, wretched, perishing Indian, within sight of her very portals!

This sketch of the present condition of the Indians in America is sufficient, we hope, to enable the Church to take a practical view of this department of missionary labor. The field is extensive, its sufferings are extreme, its claims paramount.

And yet, from the present showing, it would seem that there is not a single Church in earnest to save the souls of the red men. And why not? We have seen, from the success attending missionary efforts among them, their susceptibility to receive Christianity and be saved by it; a success which, compared with that among any other heathen of whom we have read, has been unequalled, all things considered. Surely the gracious providence of God did not send us here to destroy, but to save them. Yet, while as a nation we have steadily prosecuted the former, as Christians we have utterly failed in the latter. Christian love for perishing heathens finds a field as legitimate in America as in Africa, Asia, or Europe. To Christian love, the soul of the Black Foot or Flat Head, the Apache, Comanche, or Pueblo Indian, the Esquimaux, or Patagonian, is as precious as that of the Caffre, or Hottentot, or the worshipers of Juggernaut. The Indians are undoubtedly a doomed race; they must fade away before the white man; and this is used as an argument to withhold missionary effort. On the contrary, it is the voice of God, speaking to us in his providence, "What thou doest do quickly!" We should make haste to snatch them from ruin, and requite them in a measure for our poisonous presence. This long-neglected, suffering department of American missions we would press upon the conscience of every American Christian. The lengthening shadow of the receding Indian toward the setting sun, as it falls upon the graves of his sires trodden under our feet, admonishes us that his day is near its close, and that we must make haste to save him.

Especially would we call upon the Methodist Episcopal Church to put on strength, and gird herself anew for this department of labor. Methodism, since its introduction into America, in its various branches, has done more for the native race than all other denominations besides. If success is an evidence of adaptation to a work,

then Methodism is pre-eminently adapted to this missionary field. If success in such a work is evidence of the Divine approbation, then Methodism has been honored with it above all others. From the tabular view given, it will be seen that considerably more than *half* of the whole number of Christian Indians at the present time, are connected with Methodism. While Methodism has seven thousand three hundred and sixty-two members, all the other denominations of Christians have only four thousand nine hundred and fifty-five. How much the present salvation and future hope of the Indian tribes seem to depend upon Methodism! And if she prove unfaithful to their interests, whither shall they turn for help? Will the Great Spirit, the red man's God, raise up another people to look after these lost sheep in the wilderness? Why should Methodism turn away from this home field, in which she has proved her adaptation, met with the Divine blessing, and gathered hundreds and thousands of pagan souls into the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and where there are yet thousands and *hundreds of thousands* to be saved, to experiment in untried and unblest fields far away? To save herself not only from the charge of indiscretion, but the guilt of neglect, we hope that she may have a sufficient reason to render for passing by the perishing at home, to give the bread of life to those in regions beyond.

ART. VI.—INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by WILLIAM LEE, M.A. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857.

ATTENTIVE observers have, for some time past, seen indications of an awakening of the public mind, relative to the dogma of "Inspiration." A re-examination of the whole subject, and a re-statement of its evidences, seem to be demanded; and this, very possibly, may render necessary certain modifications of its positions. On the European Continent, our Teutonic kinsmen and fellow-Protestants have been discussing the subject for half a century, and it is well known that whatever subject occupies their patient attention and study, their discussions are at length reproduced among us; though usually in a modified and mitigated form. That the free discussion of this subject should awaken a lively public interest is certainly not strange; the matters in question are too great and the opinions

to be reviewed too venerable to allow the subject to be opened without arousing a lively interest in the Church. Still we see no cause for apprehending any such conflict of opinions as would seriously interrupt the peace of Evangelical Protestantism, or at all endanger the stability of the foundations of the faith.

The first signs of the indicated movement appeared in the form of disquisitions designed to strengthen the old positions and maintain the landmarks of a hyper-orthodoxy. In these we were served with treatises and discussions, varying in extent from fugitive essays to stately volumes, asserting in the boldest, and sometimes in the baldest style, a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, at once mechanical and non-rational; and this theory has been eliminated and amplified to the last details of the subject. A little later, as to the commencement, but mostly cotemporaneously as to its progress, was seen a counter movement, resulting in the production of a mass of crude neological and rationalistic discussions, presenting certain specious though really antiquated objections to the whole doctrine of inspiration, maintained from both philosophical and theological stand-points. The third stage of this movement is now passing before us. The necessity of reviewing the whole subject is conceded, and men whose orthodoxy is beyond suspicion, and whose piety and learning give much authority to their opinions, are ready to declare, that while their confidence in the Bible as a record of the Divine counsels is undiminished, they find it impossible to defend their opinions by the arguments most relied on, or to adopt the theories of inspiration hitherto chiefly in vogue.

The volume whose title stands at the head of this paper, is among the early fruits of this new phase of the public thought, and it bears in itself clear indications of the influences which gave it being. It is evidently the production of a writer of respectable erudition, and of an eminently conservative turn of mind. By virtue of the former he finds himself compelled to abandon the old mechanical theory of a verbal inspiration, as quite untenable; but though thus cut loose from his traditional moorings, his constitutional conservatism effectually restrains him from falling to the other extreme, as is often the case with theological reformers. It might be difficult to give in detail his own theory, should we attempt it, since, if we do not mistake the matter, he has not fully developed a theory; and even in what he has written, the several parts seem to be but imperfectly adjusted. Probably these are only his first thoughts, vigorous, indeed, but crude, which time and further study will mature. At some future time, (for he will surely write again,) we shall see him more satisfactorily developing his system, and both fortifying and

illustrating his opinions. The present volume, meanwhile, will serve a good purpose *pro tempore*; but because it belongs to a transition period in the history of its subject, as well as on account of its intrinsic imperfections, it cannot continue long; nor will it hereafter serve any other valuable purpose than to mark the transitions of the prevailing opinion for the time being.

As we shall probably have but little occasion to notice the book particularly in our further remarks, we may as well at this point say whatever may be needful to give the reader a general notion of its character. The volume, an octavo of six hundred and seventy-eight pages, is made up of eight lectures, headed severally: 1. The Question Stated—2. The Immemorial Doctrine of the Church of God—3. The Old Testament and the New—the Logos the Revealer—4. Revelation and Inspiration—5. Revelation and Inspiration (continued)—6. Scriptural Proof—7. The Commission to write—Form of what was written—8. Recapitulation, Objections Considered: illustrated with numerous and rather extensive foot-notes, principally citations from ancient Christian authorities, and a long list of appendixes, of much the same character. The argumentation is learned and generally logical; but the style is heavy and the method somewhat confused, and the whole work is deficient in clearness and vivacity. The book is a perfectly safe one, soundly orthodox, and yet sufficiently progressive to save it from the charge of stubborn conservatism; but unless the reader brings to its perusal either a lively interest in the subject, or an unusually large share of patience, he will scarcely reach the last page. In our further remarks we shall refer to it, as may be convenient to illustrate the points of our own discussion, without assenting to its conclusions further than we explicitly indorse them, nor yet in any case pretending to hold the author responsible for the use we may make of his positions and arguments.

The connection of a confidence in the Scriptures, not very widely different from that commonly entertained, with all that is really valuable in religion, is more intimate than is often suspected. Though merely speculative theism is no part of religion, yet it is among its essential conditions; for in order to the worship of God, he must be known. It is also sufficiently proved, as matter of fact, that this necessary knowledge can be attained only by the aid of revelation; and further, that among all pretended revelations no other can be found at all deserving attention, except those recorded in the Bible. The whole question is thus narrowed down to the two alternatives; the recognition of the Divinity of the Scriptures, and the negation, or rather the ignoring of all religion. True, there are

those who hesitate to accept either of these alternatives, but we think unwisely, and the common convictions of mankind seem to be steadily and rapidly subsiding in this position. Advocates of religion are more and more generally agreeing to recognize the Bible as the record of certain Divine communications to our race, so attested as to entitle them to command their convictions and dictate their conduct. Here there is substantial unanimity. Beyond this there may be, among the same persons, very wide discrepancies, both as to modes of interpretation, and the precise sense of the enunciations, as to which men may hold either part, consistently with the profession of the Christian name.

In conceding this authority to the Bible, two points are assumed: first, that God has in some way communicated to mankind certain truths and doctrines, which could have been gained by no other means; and, secondly, that he at first authenticated these revelations as given by himself, and afterward the record of them as correct and inspired. The first implies the Divine origin of the matter of the Bible, and the fact that certain persons have been made *media* of communication between the Divine and the human intelligences. The second recognizes a providential superintendence of the imparted revelations, so as to secure their faithful transmission with all requisite credentials to other persons and to future times. These two are the essential elements of a belief in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; where they are found, though they allow ample verge for differences as to specific points, we are compelled in all fairness to confess the fundamental soundness of their professors; where these are not found, though there may be large pretensions to a reverence for the Bible, yet there must be an entire want of reliance upon it as the word of God, and the sole and sufficient rule of life. Both of these points are also necessarily included in any adequate notion of the inspiration of the Scriptures; since in this Divine interference that inspiration consists.

The term "inspiration," which has been chosen by common consent to express the Divine agency in the Scriptures, is among the most unfortunately ambiguous in our language, and probably has contributed not a little to the prevalent misunderstanding of the subject. Any degree of mental elevation, occasioned only by natural causes, and induced upon the mind in its normal state, is styled an inspiration. This is the inspiration of poets and orators, the enthusiasm of genius, the lofty power of awakened thought. But all this has nothing to do with either receiving or recording a Divine revelation, and is therefore quite another thing than the inspiration of the Bible. That inspiration includes the gift of certain intellect-

ual convictions by means outside of the usual processes of intelligence, and their embodiment in such forms of words as will effectually render them intelligible to all other minds. We may therefore, in considering the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures, entirely dismiss this first sense of the term; for though we would not deny that the sacred writers may have been largely the subjects of this merely human inspiration, yet this was not their inspiration, as writers of the sacred books.

Confining our attention to that species of inspiration which belongs exclusively to the Bible, we find occasion for a further discrimination. By one form of inspiration the prophets "*saw* the vision of the Almighty," and by quite another "*holy men wrote* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." By the former the intellects of inspired men became possessed of certain truths derived directly from the Divine intelligence; by the latter the mind of the sacred penman was elevated to the requisite point, and such directions given to his will and purposes, as to secure from him a faithful transcript of the Divinely imparted truths. This distinction is very fully discussed in the volume before us, and it is made to solve many of the difficulties which have beset the subject. To that form of Divine influence by which truth is conveyed from the Divine to the human mind, the author gives the specific name of "*Revelation*," and attempts to confine the use of the general term to only the other species of inspiration. Could a distinct word be found for this species also, and the generic term "*inspiration*" be left in its generic sense exclusively, the nomenclature would be more complete and definite; though such a definite use of terms is perhaps too little sustained by usage to warrant its adoption.

The distinction of these two species of inspiration may be further elucidated by considering their relations to the persons of the adorable Trinity. To declare the will of God to mankind is the peculiar office of God the Son, who is for that reason called the *Logos*, "*the Light of the world*," and "*the express image of the Father's person*." It is he whom we recognize speaking to patriarchs and prophets. He was ever the angel of the Divine presence, with Abraham, with Israel, and with Moses. He shone in the light of the Shekinah visibly, and in the symbols of the ritual more darkly and yet more instructively, preparing the chosen people for the more full and glorious manifestation of the truth, which he gave at length, in his own incarnate person. To him, in his distinctive personality, has the Church steadily ascribed the office of imparting to men the glorious counsels of the Father. But as Christ's work is rather *for* us, than *in* us, so this revelation was in all cases, as to its recipients, abnormal,

objective, and supernatural; addressed rather to his perceptions than to his sensibilities, and increasing his knowledge, but not immediately modifying his character. It was also of definite extent, both as to its matter and its duration, and accordingly the mission of the Son, as the revealer, was long since fulfilled and terminated.

But when infinite Wisdom had given to our race a revelation of his purposes, it was further needful to provide for the faithful custody and diffusion of the revelation so given. It was no less important that it should be recorded with infallible correctness, and that the record should be certainly ascertained to be the truth of God, than that it should be at first properly certified to have come forth from God. This work pertains to the office of the Holy Ghost, the Divine Comforter, of whom the Saviour himself said, "He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine and shall show it unto you." It was by his inspiration that the mind of the sacred penman was raised to the holy elevation required for the work committed to him. By his illumination and direction the sacred scribe was enabled to separate the precious word from all earthly admixtures, and to embody the truth of God in symmetrical completeness; and as the indwelling Spirit of the Church, he has kept that word in its purity and Divine efficiency among all the mutations of human affairs. His office in this matter is, therefore, specific and unique; at once clearly distinguished from the act of imparting revelation, and yet in no less degree requiring the divine agency. And though the fact that the Word and Spirit co-operate in the production of the holy writings may cause an apparent blending of their offices, their distinctness must appear to every attentive observer. The Son is the exclusive giver of revelation; the Spirit prepares the heart of the prophet to receive the truth, and guides the hand appointed to record it; He also becomes its expounder, in order, through its instrumentality, to reprove the world and to sanctify the Church.

Before proceeding to consider the question of inspiration, in its specific sense, a fuller examination of the work of revealing, especially in its relation to the recipient, may be proper. If, as we have assumed, God converses directly with human intelligences, and originates convictions in men's understandings, it is certainly pertinent to a just determination of the subject, and altogether worthy of the pains, to examine the phenomena of that process. In this discussion, the first inquiry relates to what may be called "the prophetic state," the mental condition of the receiver of a revelation at the instant of its reception; whether this occurs while the mind is in its ordinary normal condition, or only in *ecstasy*, with the senses closed,

and an abnormal consciousness existing instead of a rational perception. The possibility of both of these will not be denied; indeed, the actual occurrence of both as matters of fact in the history of prophecy, will hardly admit of a question. The visions and dreams of the prophets, whether supervening after the senses were closed by natural sleep, or by the more violent interposition of the Divine hand in casting the prophet into a state of trance, are evidently of this character. The *ecstasy*, though it has been claimed by Hengstenberg and others, as the exclusive method of direct revelation, was probably the least frequently employed of all its various modes. A few remarkable cases are given; remarkable alike for their infrequency and their awful grandeur; but the whole of them constitute but a very small proportion of the sum of Divine revelation. "Visions of the night," which differed only in their accidents from the revelations made in *ecstasy*, the internal abnormal perception being induced, not by arresting and subjecting the natural mental processes, but by causing them to occupy the vacuity of thought occasioned by sleep, were evidently much more frequent; and yet even they were not the means chiefly used for communicating a knowledge of the Divine will.

The distinction of the two points embraced in every completed revelation is happily illustrated by several of the most remarkable cases of this method of communication. Pharaoh's dream contained a revelation; but he was unable to understand its import, till a further revelation, made to another person, disclosed it. The prophet Daniel saw the vision of the "ram and he-goat" with all needful distinctness, but wholly failed to understand the meaning of it, until a second and much plainer revelation was given. To the child Samuel was made a most manifest revelation from God, but he did not recognize it as such till further instructed in the matter. For the most part the evidence of their Divine origin accompanied the communication given; but not invariably. Many expressions found in the Old Testament, of whose prophetic character there is great reason to presume the writers of them were not aware, are, in the New Testament, shown to have been of that character. And, to cite but a single instance from the New Testament, that striking expression of Caiaphas respecting the necessity of the death of Christ, to his own mind appeared only as a maxim of governmental policy, though it was evidently a highly evangelical prophecy. A completed revelation must first impart to the consciousness the desired idea or conviction, and then this mental state must be attested and verified as the truth of God, divinely communicated; and both these are the gifts of the same great Revealer. We have

spoken of the two methods of Divine manifestation, the "ecstasy," and the "vision," as only slightly modified forms of the same mode. The identity of the higher forms of dreaming, attended as they often are with an abnormal consciousness and strange powers of perception, and the state of trance, (the "superior state" of the animal magnetists,) is satisfactorily demonstrated. Of this mysterious susceptibility of our nature the Divine power has made use, in imparting to mankind a knowledge of certain truths which lie beyond the range of sense and reason. By means of such extra-rational intuitions, the transcendent realities of revelation have been communicated, and also certified to be of Divine origin. Like all other supernatural phenomena, however, these seem to have been employed but unfrequently and with an apparent frugality; or, rather, that they might continue to be "signs and wonders," they were not permitted to become common. As manifest tokens of the Divine power, they served an important purpose, but they were evidently not intended to serve as the principal vehicle of revelation.

As to a very large class of the prophetic teachings, it is evident that they were developed in the form of intuitions, mingling with the prophet's rational processes and presenting themselves to the recognition of the normal consciousness. The process by which minds converse with each other is wholly unknown to us; we only know the fact. When such conversation is effected through the senses, the consciousness recognizes the newly induced mental state from its inception; but it is not at all difficult to suppose that spiritual intercourse may take place beyond the range of consciousness, and reveal their results only after they have assumed the form of convictions. By such process, undoubtedly, the Divine word was often infused into human minds, silently and rationally, and yet so given as to attest the Divine authority of the inwrought convictions, and to authorize their enunciation with the formula, "Thus saith the Lord."

There is evidently still another, and by no means an inconsiderable class of revelations. Many prophecies seem to have been delivered by persons from whose minds the chief purport of their own utterances was wholly concealed. Sometimes, though not usually, the enigmatical character of the enunciations was detected by the prophet himself; but most commonly, the prophetic image was twofold, while only the proximate and often less important one was recognized. To this characteristic of prophecy the name "double sense" has been given, though it is scarcely proper to indicate the sense as really twofold. The Old Testament dispensation was itself a system of symbols, and this peculiarity is seen not more in its ritual and ceremonies than in its prophetic teachings.

Almost every historical statement or biographical record has a deeper and fuller significance than appears to the careless beholder; and often the prophetic vision embraced, and the prophetic language delineated much more than the prophet intended or was properly aware of. "To the ancient Jew," writes our author, "the predictions concerning the liberation from exile were blended with those which related to the Messianic age, so as to present a mass of undistinguishable tracery." . . . "Jeremiah connects in one picture the first conversion of the Jews in the days of Christ, with their general conversion in ages yet to come." David, by Divine inspiration, composes a prophetic Psalm for Solomon, but is carried beyond his proximate subject, and depicts a greater than Solomon, of whom that renowned prince was, in many respects, an illustrious type. In this method of symbolizing is found a large share of the prophetic utterances of the Scripture, and by its use, nearly everything contained in the Bible is made to bear upon its great cardinal truths and doctrines. Both methods of prophetic utterances, the direct and the symbolical, date from the beginning of the history of Redemption; for in the day of the first transgression, the prediction of the conflict and triumph of "the seed of the woman" stood over against the institution of sacrifices. These, indeed, have never been divided, but have stood together as two sure witnesses mutually attesting the truths of revelation, and by their united instructions the world was prepared to receive the coming Messiah.

It is important in this inquiry to clearly discriminate between the special inspiration exercised in the gift of the Holy Scriptures, and the spiritual influence which is promised as the perpetual legacy of Christ's disciples. The former was given by the manifestation of the eternal Word; the latter is of the ministrations of the Comforter. As to their substance, that was external and objective, and so presented as to be recognized as something distinct from the recipient himself; this is subjective, "the word is nigh thee, in thy heart and in thy mouth," and hence may be confounded with the mind's own original processes. As to their forms, they are also dissimilar; for while the teachings of the Word are general, revealing the Divine purposes relative to our race, and to individuals only in view of general facts and characteristics, the ministrations of the Spirit are personal, and apply to their subjects individually. The one reveals God *to* the human understanding; the other manifests him *in* the essential reason; the former discloses the facts and provisions of the Gospel scheme of grace; the latter prepares the individual spirit of man to apprehend the things so revealed, and to realize his personal relations to them.

The offices of the Word and those of the Spirit being thus specifically distinct, it would be unreasonable to expect that they should supplement each other. The work of revealing is a definite and limited one, both as to its substance and the time of its execution, and accordingly it ceased with the apostolic age; the whole of the counsels of grace having at that time been committed to the Church, with all needful proofs and attestations. It is therefore quite absurd to speak of new revelations given by the ministration of the Spirit, who "shall not speak anything of himself." Fanaticism, which is always founded in doctrinal error, though often co-existing with honesty of purpose, is ever attempting to add something either to the matter or to the credibility of the sacred record; but the plain teachings of the things clearly revealed show the impossibility of all such attempts or pretensions. Under the dispensation of the Spirit there are no provisions for revelations, and evidently the prophetic office did not extend beyond the age of the apostles. The great glory of the Gospel dispensation is the co-operation of the Word and the Spirit in the Church, one through the divinely communicated records of the truth, and the other as a living and quickening Spirit of truth in the hearts of the willing and obedient.

But while we thus assign the whole work of revealing to God the Son, we would not, by any means, exclude the Spirit from a very important share in the production of the Holy Scriptures. To proclaim the words of revelation to fallen and depraved men, would have availed nothing, had not their minds been first prepared to receive and appreciate the things so revealed. It was therefore needful that the prophetic mind should be so elevated by a Divine inspiration as to become a proper receptacle and medium of the Divine messages—a work appropriate to the Holy Spirit. The whole custody of the matter of revelation belongs also to the Spirit, and not to the Word of God; and hence the form and outward fashion of the Scriptures are of his inspiration. His supervision extends beyond revelations, strictly so called, and covers also the historical and illustrative portions of the Bible; which were often written from the personal knowledge of the sacred penman, or copied from reliable public records, but to which also is imparted by the Spirit the character of inspiration which pertains to the whole Bible. This consideration may also apply, though in a modified and perhaps mitigated form, to the compilation of the canon, and the transcription of the sacred books. Surely it is not unreasonable to presume, that the inspiring Spirit which dwells with the Church, is ever mindful of that truth upon which, as a well

adapted instrument, he relies for the sanctification and final glorification of the faithful, and that he keeps it safe from any and all mutilations and corruptions by which its efficiency would be diminished.

In considering the character of the Scriptures, it is necessary to regard them as constituting an organized whole. Such a unity, actually existing, will be readily discovered by every ingenuous and intelligent reader of the Bible; and only after it has been discovered is he prepared to understand the things he reads. It is a fixed law of interpretation, without regarding which it would be impossible to rightly understand almost any written production, that the scope and design of the work should be perceived and regarded as a clew to its sense. This rule must be applied in interpreting the Scriptures, and by it the meaning of their language must be settled. Assuming, then, that the great design of the Bible is to reveal "God in Christ reconciling the world to himself," we may legitimately expect to find the traces of this great purpose in any and all parts of the sacred record. We should perhaps hesitate as to going the whole length with a certain class of commentators, formerly more in favor than at present, who found or simulated a direct or symbolical prophecy in nearly every passage in the Bible. On the other hand, we are quite as far from agreeing with those who seem determined to recognize no allusion to its great theme, whenever it is possible to escape it, by critical finesse. The Jewish theocracy was unquestionably constructed upon a Messianic basis, and of necessity in many cases a Messianic interpretation of its literature is the only rational one, even were another possible, within the range of verbal criticism. This all-pervading element is really the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, which resides not chiefly in a mechanical arrangement of certain sentences and words, letters and points, but is an indwelling and outspeaking divinity, animating and actuating the whole book. "They are they that testify of me."

As in nature, so also in his word, God has embodied his teachings in concrete forms much more generally than in abstract propositions. This method is best adapted to render certain and definite these all-important truths, which words are not adequate fully to convey. It is therefore not so much a matter of interest to know what a certain text of Scripture *may* mean as to ascertain the *drift* and *scope* of the whole volume. The words of Scripture often lose their whole pertinence and force by being removed from their connection, as a member of the body becomes useless and without beauty by being separated from its connection. Biblical interpreters have agreed, that no single text is sufficient to establish any point of doctrine;

and in doing this, whether aware of it or not, they have deferred the verbal infallibility of the Scriptures to their plenary and universal inspiration. Particular words and phrases, we are told, must be explained agreeably to the "analogy of faith;" and to this we most heartily consent, taking the general teachings of the Bible as the rule of that faith. But, then, what is to become of the "particular word and phrases?" Some will tell us that we must still believe that they meant originally what they are thus made to mean; but others esteem this an unnecessary demand upon their implicit faith, and without at all surrendering their confidence in the Bible as an inspired book and an infallible rule of faith, they nevertheless suspect the verbal accuracy of the parts which require such a violent mode of interpretation.

In a compilation, though the several portions unite harmoniously in forwarding the one design, we naturally expect accidental discrepancies among the particular parts, in points not pertaining to the organic whole. No one would feel, in an ordinary case, that such discrepancies would mar the integrity or diminish the credibility of the whole, but rather the opposite; nor can we see any sufficient reason why the same considerations do not apply to the interpretation of the Scriptures. If this is granted, the scope and purposed teachings of the inspired volume are still clearly evident, and the stamp of infallibility is made upon all that pertains to the integrity of the faith.

There seems, therefore, to be an antecedent probability that in the texture of the Holy Scriptures may be brief and incidentally introduced portions and certain statements of facts, used for illustration rather than historical confirmation, to which, in their own proper character, the peculiar inspiration of the Bible does not extend. As far as such portions are used, whether as facts or illustrations, they must be correct, and we have no right to expect anything further than this. All this is quite consistent with the fullest confidence in the sufficiency and infallibility of the Scriptures as a guide, both as to what we should believe, and what we ought to do. Whoever reads the Bible with the spirit of a learner, will most certainly detect its spirit, and apprehend its revealings, though he may often fail to reconcile apparent discrepancies, or to understand some of its incidental statements and allusions. And if the Bible, thus considered, is found to be effective in imparting to ingenuous, though uncritical readers, a knowledge of the truths and doctrines of inspiration, it accomplishes its great end, and is found sufficient to meet all the requirements of the case.

We can hardly conceive of a greater injustice to the sacred volume

than to make it responsible for every historical, philosophical, or scientific fact or principle, named or alluded to in its pages. We never deal in this wise with any other work. A mistaken notion of the purposes of the Bible, united with a superstitious regard for its exterior, has led many good people to deprecate all rational criticism in its interpretation. Thus has arisen a real and highly pernicious *Bibliolatry*, at once unfriendly to rational Christian faith, and to a right understanding of the inspired word. As the natural result of this false notion, the truths of the Bible have been brought into question at each stage in the progress of human science. The dispute relative to the Copernican system in the age of Galileo, and the questions respecting the physical history of the earth at the present time, are cases in point. But the ablest Biblical critics are now settling down in the conviction, that in the Scriptural use of language relative to matters of philosophy, the apparent rather than the real is contemplated, and in science, the theory in vogue at the time of writing, and not the certainly correct one, is adopted. The Bible is designed for all ages, and for people in all stages of knowledge and culture; it must therefore be unentangled with the ever-changing questions of science and philosophy. Had it embraced and authenticated them, as they stood at the times of its composition, its parts would have been discordant, and the whole obsolete and untrue in all after times. Had it embodied them in their essential truthfulness, it would have been either wholly unintelligible or else a source of hopeless confusion. Things are therefore spoken of according to the generally-received notions of them; but they were not by this indorsed by the hand and seal of Divine revelation. A thousand mutations in the forms of human philosophy can produce no effect upon the sacred verity of the word of God, though they do greatly modify its external aspects; and the Bible is as heartily believed by the most learned philosopher of the present times, as it was by the most unlettered pietist of the Dark Ages.

A like consideration will, we think, apply to the historical statements introduced in the Scriptures. Here, however, great caution is required, since, in not a few cases, matters of fact and of doctrine are so intimately blended, that the two must stand or fall together. Whenever this is the case, we have a right to require and expect the same infallible certainty for the former as for the latter; and we cannot consistently claim inspiration for the one and deny it to the other. But it is clearly the case that in many instances the infallible certainty of a revealed doctrine does not require the absolute correctness of the statement of facts with which it is enunciated.

Biblical scholars have long been divided as to many very considerable historical statements, as to which the Scriptural record is apparently either self-contradictory, or at variance with the best profane authorities. But the Christian world has very little practical interest in such questions. The gracious power of the Saviour is about equally tested, whether we conclude he met two or only one blind man, as he came out of Jericho; nor does it at all affect the real merits of the case, whether we conclude, according to one evangelist, that both the thieves on the cross reviled the Saviour, or with another, that while one reviled him, the other rebuked his fellow in guilt and suffering. A considerable number of such instances are found in the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments; and as their infallibility is not essential to the authority of the Bible as a *system of religious instruction*, may we not presume that in these things human infirmity was permitted to err, while the substance of the truth was sacredly guarded by the inspiring Spirit?

Any adequate view of the Holy Scriptures must recognize their human element no less clearly than the Divine. Upon this subject, the work before us contains some exceedingly pertinent and felicitous suggestions, which our limits will not allow us to transcribe. Here, no less than in the persons of apostles or in the sacred functions of the Church, the treasure of eternal life is contained in earthen vessels. Had the inspiration of the sacred writers been absolutely complete, and their co-operation wholly passive and mechanical, then, indeed, we would have had a revelation unmixed with human elements, and without the marks of the personal peculiarities of the several writers. But such is not the case. Each sacred penman retains his own chirography, or gives to the record the signs of his idiosyncrasies. The princely Isaiah and the rustic Amos each impresses his own mental characteristics upon his pages. The harp of David betrays the royalty of the hand that waked its melodies, and sharply distinguished its sounds from the plaintive wailings of those who sat down by the rivers of Babylon. The earnest spirit of Paul, the fervid zeal of Peter, the rigid virtue of James, and the holy love of John, are all seen alike in their writings and in their personal histories. In this feature, indeed, we recognize one of the great excellences of the Bible. It is a kind of perpetual *incarnation* of the truth of God, as is Jesus an incarnation of his person. It was not enough that God should speak to mankind; it was also needful that his word should be made over to them, that in all beyond its essential spirituality it should become human. Such it is, in its mode of thought, its forms of expressions, and generally in all its external conditions. And as Jesus, though essential God made flesh, bore

in himself our human infirmities, and was doubtless capable of mistakes, but nevertheless was absolutely the "true and faithful witness;" so, is it at all unlikely that the human mold into which the truth of God is cast, should in like manner have the incidental defects that pertain to its humanity? And, as we feel the Saviour most sacredly near to us when we contemplate him as a man, of like passions with ourselves, so doubtless we will find a holy sympathy in the words of Scripture, in proportion as we recognize the human element intimately combined with the Divine. While, therefore, we claim and contend earnestly for the inspiration of the Bible, for a living and energizing spirit of truth diffused through and animating its pages, we delight also to recognize its human form, and to commune with its utterances as with the voice of a friend. Nor do we any the less reverence its lessons, because we suspect that it is not wholly raised above all human infirmities. In this we may be wrong; but if so, the error is one of the heart as well as of the understanding.

To dissent from this view of the case, would require more of the objector than may be at first apparent, and more, we presume, than many will be prepared to concede. If every word and sentence of the Bible must be held to be absolutely and infallibly correct, in order to entitle it to confidence as a rule of faith and morals, this demand applies not simply to the Bible as originally given to mankind, but rather to it as actually possessed by them. In that case all the *media* of communication must need have been wholly under the Divine direction, and the beast upon which the prophet rode could have served as well as the prophet himself for such a medium. So, too, the hand of the scribe must have been infallibly and mechanically directed, with no more active personal agency than has the automaton in its movements. So, also, must a mechanical Providence preserve and diffuse the sacred deposit, protecting manuscripts from all omissions and interpolations, and infallibly guiding the hands of translators to write in other languages the uncorrupted—that is, the verbally unmodified—truth. We do not object to all this as an impossibility, *a priori*, though we might do so; but as matter of fact, we know it is untrue, and we also see abundant reason why the Divine Providence should have chosen another method.

By the theory of inspiration we have indicated, and only by this, as we view the subject, are we able to maintain the position of evangelical Protestantism in its claims to a free and sufficient Bible, against the pretensions of Romanism on the one hand, and the cavils of rationalists and skeptics on the other. The Church of Rome

claims for itself an inspiration not unlike in character that sometimes claimed by Protestants for the Bible. Theirs, indeed, is less fixed and certain in its determinations, but it is more flexible and capable of adaptation, and is also replete with a more genial sympathy. But both alike pretend to a rigid and formal infallibility, a finished and consigned revelation, the one, as dwelling in the ecclesiastical organism, the other, as in the letter of the Scriptures. The present energy of the Spirit is constructively excluded by both, and an infallibility *per se* claimed in both cases. Accordingly, the papist submits his entire creed to the keeping of the Church, and from the lips of his spiritual instructor receives explicit directions in every emergency. Not so, however, the Protestant, who must draw his precepts from his Bible, in the exercise of his own private judgment. This, indeed, he may do, since the teachings of the Scriptures are, as to all things essential to life and godliness, exceedingly plain, provided he have confidence in the genuineness of the Bible as he possesses it. But if he concludes that absolute correctness in every point, great or small, is requisite to the credibility of the Bible, and at the same time learns that his is only an imperfectly rendered version of the Divinely dictated word, his faith will rest on an uncertain and unsatisfactory foundation.

Only a small portion of any people can become able Biblical scholars; and hence the great mass of Protestants can have only our imperfect vernacular versions of the Scriptures, which, on the ground assumed by the advocates of literal infallibility, are quite unreliable, as bases for religious opinions. On the contrary, we assume that the spirit and essence of Divine revelation does not reside in specific texts and sentences, but is diffused throughout the texture of the volume, and operates in the integrity of its power wherever a generally correct and comprehensive version of the Scriptures is used. "Jots" and "tittles" in the verbiage of the Bible are often changed, and yet the integrity of the sacred word is unimpaired. It is just now proclaimed to the Christian public of this country, that our good old English Bibles have become faulty and uncertain as copies of the authorized translation made and issued by royal authority; but we do not therefore conclude that hitherto we have been without any reliable rule of faith. Probably an absolutely correct copy of the Bible, considered literally, is not now in existence, and yet we glory, nevertheless, in Chillingworth's declaration, "THE BIBLE, THE BIBLE, is the religion of Protestants."

In conclusion, we rejoice in the new interest which this question is eliciting. We anticipate much good from its examination. Christianity commends itself to man's intelligence in proportion to

the severity of the scrutiny to which its claims are subjected; and the Holy Scriptures "in which are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," rise in commanding dignity and authority, in proportion as they are submitted to fearless, but intelligent criticism. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord endureth forever.

ART. VII.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

BETWEEN the advent of Methodism in Oxford in 1729, and the death of its founder in 1791, intervened sixty-two years. Mr. Wesley took his degree of Master of Arts in 1727, four months before the accession of George II. to the throne of England, who died in 1760, and was succeeded by George III. Neither of these princes ever opposed Mr. Wesley or his preachers, but rather rebuked those who opposed. While war was going on during the rise and progress of Methodism, and through the most of Mr. Wesley's public life, literature and the arts and sciences were, notwithstanding, cultivated in Great Britain. In this time the best English historians wrote, namely, Hume, Smollett, Robertson, and Gibbon. Mr. Wesley has some strictures on each, excepting the last. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was not all published until 1788, only three years before Mr. Wesley's death. We do not think he read it, or he would hardly have failed condemning the dignified and irreligious historian. Mr. Hutcheson was the principal writer on moral philosophy in the first half of the century, and Mr. Wesley contends again and again against his theories. Mr. Reid was the chief writer in the other half. English poetry was prospering in these times, which did not, however, bring forth either of our great poets. Still the poets, as Pope, Thomson, Young, Akenside, Gray, Goldsmith, were, if not of the highest, of a high and respectable class. Nor should Dr. Watts or Charles Wesley be omitted, being the only two notable religious poets of the age. The principal fictitious writers were Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett. The author of the great English Dictionary, as well as other works, Dr. Johnson, the English literary colossus, flourished in this period. When on his death-bed, Mr. Wesley visited this great man, and conversed with him on the

things of God. The English theater was prospering, while the work of God was reviving. The great actors, Booth, Mrs. Cibber, Quin, Garrick, and Mrs. Bellamy, were in vogue. It seems that Mr. Garrick and Charles Wesley were well known to each other. When the Life of Mrs. Bellamy appeared, Mr. Wesley read it, and found the following anecdote, which the actress had been pleased to insert. Garrick was in Ireland, and when taking ship for England a lady presented him with a parcel, which he was not to open till he was at sea. When he did, he found Wesley's Hymns, which he immediately threw overboard. Mr. Wesley says: "I cannot believe it. I think Mr. Garrick had more sense. He knew my brother well; and he knew him to be not only far superior in learning, but in poetry, to Mr. Thomson and all his theatrical writers put together; none of them can equal him either in strong, nervous sense, or purity and elegance of language." Music in this period was greatly in favor. In it the great composers, Handel, Arne, Boyce, and the Earl of Mornington, flourished. In the spring of 1764 Mr. Wesley went to the performance of Mr. Arne's oratorio of *Judith*, which he pronounced very fine; but he strongly condemned singing the same words so often, and singing different words at the same time. In 1765 he heard the oratorio of *Ruth*, pronounced it exquisite music, and thought it "might possibly make an impression even upon rich and honorable sinners." When in Bristol, in 1750, he went to the cathedral to hear Mr. Handel's celebrated oratorio of the *Messiah*, and declares it exceeded his expectation, especially in several of the choruses. "I doubt," says he, "if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon, as during this performance." Painting, too, was reviving in the English nation. Mr. Wesley himself sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Romney. He also visited different private and public galleries, and passed his opinion very freely on the artists. The period of the public life of Mr. Burke was a stirring time, internally and externally, for the English nation. A Dr. Price reckoned (for there was no government census) that the people of England numbered between four and five millions. Mr. Wesley denied the computation, and believed the number was seven millions, at least. In this period the nation lost her American Colonies; but, on the other hand, she gained Canada, several of the West India islands, and the vast territory of India. Mr. Wesley was not an isolated man, confining himself to one calling, but he felt an interest in all public affairs, ever siding with the laws and the government. Still his main employment was to preach and call sinners to repentance. When not so engaged, directly or indirectly, his leisure was spent, according to the taste of a literary man, in reading and

writing books. We shall in this article show, first, a specimen of what books he read, adding some reflections; and secondly, lay down the thread of his own writings, interspersed with suitable observations. These two parts will show what kind of ideas he furnished his own mind with, and with what kind of ideas he supplied the minds of others.

BOOKS READ BY MR. WESLEY.

The books read by Mr. Wesley in his youth, and before the era of Methodism, there is no account of. The books which first assisted him to the knowledge and love of God were, in 1725, Bishop Taylor's "Rules of Holy Living and Dying," and "The Christian's Pattern; or, A Treatise on the Imitation of Christ," by the German monk, Thomas à Kempis.* In 1727 he was further assisted by Mr. Law's "Christian Perfection," and his "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." From 1733 to 1778 he thought he had read five or six hundred books. And before his conversion, in the years of his youth and education, doubtless his reading was very extensive and thorough, or he would not have been qualified for Fellow in Lincoln College, Oxford. However, our curiosity is not concerning his reading while a private person, but the books he read while in public life and engaged in the work, under God, of reforming the nation. We find that he read and noticed the following works from the year 1737 to 1751, the year of his marriage, namely:

The Mystic Divinity of Dionysius; Deficiency of Human Knowledge and Learning, by Dr. Edwards; Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; Bishop Beveridge's Account of the Canons of the Councils; Works of Nicholas Machiavel; Mr. Law's Book on the New Birth; Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*; The Account of the Synod of Dort, by Episcopius; Case of Michael Servetus, by John Calvin; Whitefield's Account of God's Dealings with his Soul; History of the Church, by Turretine; Lives of Philip and Mathew Henry; The *Theologia Germanica*; The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius; Laval's History of the Reformed Churches in France; Dr. Cheyne's Natural Method of Curing Diseases; Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates; Dr. Pitcairne on Medicine and the Mathematics; Jacob Behmen's Exposition of Genesis; Madame Guyon's Method of Prayer and the Spiritual Torments; Life of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits; Middle-

* He wrote as a motto upon his books: "I have sought for rest in all things, but could find it nowhere but in corners (that is praying) and in books."

ton's Essays on Church Government; The Life of Gregory Lopez; The Grounds of the Old Religion; Account of Governor Endicott, of New-England; Purver's Essay on a New Translation of the Bible; Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus; Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church; Bishop Butler's Discourse of Analogy; Lectures on the first Chapters of St. Matthew; Tracts concerning Count Zinzendorf and his People; The Exhortations of Ephrem Syrus; A System of Ethics; The History of the Puritans; Account of the great Irish Massacre of 1641; Quintus Curtius's History of Alexander the Great; Dr. Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner; Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland; The History of St. Patrick; Dr. Hodge's Account of the Plague in London; On the Right Use of the Fathers, by Daillé; Bishop Pearson on the Apostles' Creed; Mr. Law's Spirit of Prayer; The Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd; Miracles at the Tomb of the Abbé Paris; Gerard's Sacred Meditations; Narrative of Count Zinzendorf's Life, by himself; The Antiquities of Rome, by B. Kennett; Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece; Mr. Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities; A Creed founded on Common Sense; Journal of Mr. S——, President of Council of Georgia; Mr. Glanville's Relations concerning Witchcraft; The Works of William Dell; Sermons by Rev. Mr. Erskine.

For ten years Mr. Wesley's labors in England and Ireland were abundant. The foundation of Methodism, so called, was then laid. Persecutions also raged against the preachers and members of the new sect. The nation was at war with Spain; but "the war against the Methodists, so called, was everywhere carried on with far more vigor than that against the Spaniards." (Journal, 1744.) Excessive labors and bitter persecutions made unfit times for literary pursuits. Yet our founder, as the preceding catalogue shows, did not give up his reading. The following books he read and noticed during the life of his wife, who died in 1781:

V.'s* Essay on the Happiness of the Life to Come; Blaise Pascal's Thoughts on Religion; Dr. Franklin's Letters on Electricity; Mr. Prince's Christian History; Mr. Rimius's Candid Narrative, that is, concerning Moravians; Stinstra's Tract upon Fanaticism; Ramsay's Philosophical Principles of Religion; Andrew Fry's Reasons for leaving Moravian Brethren; The Lectures of Dr. Heylyn; Dr. Calamy's Life of Richard Baxter; History of the Wars of the Belgians; Hay's Treatise on Deformity; Richard Baxter's History of the Councils; A Gentleman's Reasons for Dissent from the Church of England; Dr. Sharp on the Rubrics

* Voltaire, probably.

and Canons of the Church; Rev. John Gillies's *Historical Collections*; Lord Anson's *Voyage round the World, 1744*; Pike's *Philosophia Sacra*; *The Life of Czar Peter the Great*; Dr. Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*; Barton's *Lectures on Lough-neagh*; Voltaire's *Epic Poem of Henriade*; Leusden's *Dissertation for the Hebrew Points*; Bishop of Cork's *Treatise on Human Understanding*; Hanway's *History of Shah Nadir, the Scourge of God*; *Book on the Law of Nature*; Whitefield's *Defense of the Hebrew Points*; Dr. Rogers on the *Learning of the Ancients*; Rev. John Home's *Tragedy of Douglas*; Richard Baxter's own *Life and Times*; Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*; *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*; *Life of Theodore, King of Corsica*; Rev. Mr. Walker's *Siege of Londonderry*; Dr. Bernard's *Relation of the Siege of Drogheda*; Dr. Curry's *Account of the Irish Rebellion*; Mr. Spearman's *Inquiry, that is concerning Hutchinson's Philosophy*; *Monsieur Rollin's Ancient History*; *Analysis of Lord Bolingbroke's Works*; *Needham's Treatise on Microscopic Animals*; *Abridgement of Mr. Hutchinson's Works*; *Oetinger's De Sensu Communi et Ratione*; *Huygens's Conjectures on the Planetary World*; *Fenelon's Romance of Telemachus*; *Davis's Historical Relations concerning Ireland*; *Smith's State of the County and City of Waterford*.

At this period of Mr. Wesley's reading King George II. died, 1760. The labors of the great evangelist are now so abundant, that in eight years, namely 1759 to 1766, he notices, and seems to have read only twenty-one books:

Bishop Pontspidan's *Natural History of Norway*; *Life of St. Catherine of Genoa*; Gesner's *Poem of the Death of Abel*; *Lives of Magdalen de Pazzi and other Romish Saints*; *Life of Mr. William Lilly*; *Hartley's Defense of the Mystic Writers*; Richard Baxter's book upon *Apparitions*; Rev. Mr. Romaine's *Life of Faith*; Dr. Watts on the *Improvement of the Mind*; Mr. Seed's *Sermons*; Sir Richard Cox's *History of Ireland*; *Journal of William Edmundson, a Quaker preacher*; *Jones on the Principles of Natural Philosophy*; Bishop Lowth's *Answer to Bishop W.*; Bishop Lowth's *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*; *Knox's History of the Church of Scotland*; *The Epic Poem of Fingal, by Ossian*; *Sellar's History of Palmyra*; *Norden's Travels into Egypt and Abyssinia*; *Crantz's Account of the Mission into Greenland*; *Thoughts on God and Nature*; *Life of Mohammed, by Count de Boulanvilliers*; Dr. Priestley on *Electricity*; *Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*; *The Pleadings of the famous Douglas Case*; *A Poem, Choheleth, or the Preacher (Ecclesiastes)*; *Poems by Miss*

Whately, a Farmer's Daughter; Inquiry into the Proofs of Charges against Mary, Queen of Scots; The Travels of Dr. Shaw; An Essay on Music; Boswell's Account of Corsica; Blackburne's Considerations on the Penal Laws against Papists; Dr. Campbell's answer to Hume against Miracles; Dr. Brown on the Characteristics of Lord Shaftesbury; An Account of Commodore Byron; Glanvill's Sadducees Triumphant; Turner's Remarkable Providences; Mrs. Rowe's Devout Exercises of the Heart; Dr. Warner's History of the Irish Rebellion; Mr. Newton's Account of his own Experience; The Odyssey of Homer; Guthrie's History of Scotland; Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth; Rousseau upon Education; The Life of Mr. Hutchinson; The Writings of Baron Swedenborg; Sellon's Answer to Cole on God's Sovereignty; A Dialogue between Moses and Lord Bolingbroke; Works of the Rev. Philip Skelton; The Translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; Dr. Hodge's Elibu; Hoole's Translation of Tasso's Poem of Jerusalem Delivered; The Celestial Theology of Baron Swedenborg; Jones's Tract upon Clean and Unclean Beasts; Sterne's Sentimental Journey through France and Italy; A Description of the Slave-Trade; Robertson's History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; Beattie's Inquiry after Truth; Else's Medical Treatise on the Hydrocele; Essays on various Medical Subjects; Adam's Comment on part of Epistle to Romans; The Poetical Works of James Thomson; The Life of Belisarius, the Roman General; Sir John Dalrymple's History of the Revolution of 1688; Mr. Hutcheson's Essay on the Passions; Account of the European Settlements in America; Bonavici's History of the late War in Italy; Tract on the Inmost Recesses of Freemasonry; Dr. Leland's History of Ireland; The Poems of Dr. Byrom; The Life of Sextus Quintus; Sir Richard Blackmore's Poem of Prince Arthur; Dr. Lee's Sophron; The Life of Lord Herbert; The Voyages and Discoveries of Captain Cook; The Life of Anna Maria Schurman; Dr. Gregory's Advice to his Daughters; Account of the Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600; Lord Kames's Essays on Morality and Natural Religion; Sketches of the History of Man; Dr. Reid's Essay on the Mind; Controversy of Dr. Clarke and Leibnitz; Mrs. Sheridan's Lectures on Elocution; The Life of Count Marsay; The Letters of Lord Chesterfield; The Letters of Dr. Swift; History of the City of Norwich; The Poems of Dr. Beattie; Correspondence between Theodosius and Constantia; Bolt's Considerations on the Affairs of India; The Works of Lord Lyttleton; The Essays of Miss Talbot; Sermons of Mr. Boem, Chaplain to Queen Anne's Husband; Dr. Johnson's Tour to the Western Isles of Scotland; The Dialogues of Lucian, a late

Greek author; Jenyn's Internal Evidence of Christian Religion; A Tract on Political Economy; Life of Thomas Gray, and his Poems; Dr. Gell's Essay toward an Amendment of Translation of Bible; Dr. M'Bride on the Practice of Physic; Raynals on the Settlement and Trade of Europeans in India; Xenophon's *Kypov Παιδεία*; The Life of Mr. Marsay; An Essay on Taste; Dr. Smollett's History of England; Baron Swedenborg's account of Heaven and Hell; Bryant's new System of Ancient Mythology; Dr. Blair's Sermons; The History of the Town of Whitby; History of Ireland, by Dr. Warner; Dr. Watt's Essay on Liberty; Sir Richard Hill against Polygamy; Pennant's Tour through Scotland; Dr. Robertsons's History of America; Dr. Parson's Remains of Japheth; Memoirs of Mr. Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State.

The catalogue of our founder's reading reaches now to the year 1781, the year in which his wife died. The disastrous war of England with the American colonies was going on, and the prevalent trouble in the nation was, says Mr. Wesley, "as though England were on the brink of destruction." Yet he pursued his onward course of traveling, preaching, writing, and reading. He was now an aged man, in his seventy-ninth year, yet strangely declares, "I feel no more of the infirmities of old age than I did at twenty-nine." Another characteristic was, that in his old age his relish for books continued, and without abatement. It will be gratifying a reasonable curiosity to learn what books the great and venerable man read from the eightieth to the eighty-eighth year of his life. They are as follows:

Dr. Horne's Commentary on the Psalms; Ariosto's romantic Poem of Orlando Furioso; The Epic Poem of Fingal; Voltaire's Memoirs of Himself; Major Vallance's Grammar of the Irish Language; Le Vray's Animadversions on the Ancient Historians; Peru's Treatise on the Gravel and Stone; Fry's Tract on Marriage; Life of Sir William Penn, the Quaker; The History of Scotland, by Dr. Stuart; Lord Bacon's Ten Centuries of Experiment; Dr. Anderson's Account of the Hebrides Islands; second reading of Fingal, in heroic verse; Dr. Hunter's Lectures on Anatomy; A Fragment from the Chinese; Blackwell's Illustration and Defense of the Sacred Classics; Dobb's Universal History; The Letters of Archbishop Usher; An Essay on Taste, by Dr. Gerard; also, his Plan of Education; Duff's Essay on Genius; Weston's Dissertation on the Wonders of Antiquity; Captain Wilson's Account of the Pelew Islands; Life of the famous Baron Trenck; Life of the noted Mr. George F., the Murderer; Foster's Voyage round

the World; Life of Mrs. Bellamy, a noted actress; King of Sweden's Tract on the Balance of Power in Europe; Captain Carrol's Travels in North America.

The Travels of Captain Carrol is the last book which Mr. Wesley notices; very likely, the last he read. For three or four years his eyes were growing dim, and he could scarcely read at all by candle-light. During this time, however, he had read half of the preceding list, showing that though his bodily powers were decaying, his taste and relish for books were fresh and keen as ever. In five months after the last notice the venerable man of literature, as well of wonderful labors and exemplary piety, was dead. As the list of books which our founder read is now produced, and in the order of time in which they were read, some observations are necessary.

1. As to the total *number* of books read, there is and can be no precision. Doubtless his reading was very extensive and thorough before he became a preacher of the Gospel. In forty-five years, until 1778, he thought he had read five or six hundred books. He seems, however, to have been so well furnished in his youth, that all the reading of forty-five years added to his stock only "a little more history or natural philosophy." What, then, did he read for, if not for instruction? He might read for instruction, and know more than his author. Another end of reading, as of conversation, is recreation. The library is not only the school, but the play-ground of the literary man. Reading was Mr. Wesley's amusement and recreation. Besides, he would now and then indulge himself in hearing fine music, in looking over beautiful gardens, in viewing the rich and antique furniture in the houses of the nobility and gentry, in gazing at the painting and cartoons of celebrated painters, in visiting noted scenes of facts or legends, in inspecting the museums of corporations or private persons, or in admiring the glorious old Gothic in the architecture of the churches and cathedrals of England and Ireland. But when nothing else presented itself in his leisure hour, he would fall back upon reading as his standing pleasure. We have no doubt but in his life-time he must have read from a thousand to fifteen hundred books. If he were not the great English colossus of literature, as Dr. Johnson, he was certainly a little colossus; and compared to whom most other preachers in his day were but ordinary men, children, or dwarfs.

2. As the preceding list of books contains, probably, not a fourth of the reading of our founder, it must be viewed merely as a *specimen* of the larger and lost catalogue. In this respect it is curious and interesting. It shows the kind of books he studied or indulged in, and the taste and judgment he exercised. We have

the works of Moses, Solomon, and Paul, but we know nothing of their reading. We have old Homer, Herodotus, and Aristotle, but we are completely in the dark as to the works by which their minds were enlightened. To those who admire the reformer of the eighteenth century, as well as the reformer of the sixteenth, the specimen catalogue will be viewed as a literary curiosity.

3. In looking over the catalogue one reflection immediately is created, namely, how small the space which *Divinity* holds in it. Considering the holy calling of the reader, the pious character he bore, the Christian experience he professed, and the extraordinary religious revival in which he was continually engaged, strange that his reading so little corresponded with his calling, his experience, and his work! One would suppose that religious and devout authors would be the rule in his reading, and others the exception; whereas, other authors are the rule, and religious authors the exception. Our opinion is, that his reading in divinity was not to be compared with such a man as Archbishop Usher, or even Richard Baxter. We do not find that Mr. Wesley ever read the Fathers of the early Church, the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, the works of the great foreign divines, not even Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, or Arminius; nor many of the great theologians of the English school of divines, Episcopalians, Puritans, or Non-conformists. We do not mean that he never read pieces of these classes of authors, (even as we dwarfish readers of the present times, we read our scraps,) but an extensive and thorough study of the quartos and folios coming from the great lights of the Church is what he never accomplished or undertook. The chief books in the list are Luther's Comment on the Galatians, Bishop Bull's Reconcilement of St. Paul and St. James, on Faith and Works, and Bishop Pearson on the Apostle's Creed. The fact is, Mr. Wesley made no pretensions to systematic theology, or to increase of knowledge in practical divinity. Says he:

"I went to Tiverton; I was musing here on what I heard a good man say long since: 'Once in seven years I burn all my sermons; for it is a shame if I cannot write better sermons now than I could seven years ago.' Whatever others can do, I really cannot. . . . Perhaps, indeed, I may have read five or six hundred books more than I had then, (forty-five years ago,) and may know a little more history, or natural philosophy than I did; but I am not sensible that this has made any essential addition to my knowledge of divinity. Forty years ago I preached and knew every Christian doctrine which I preach now."

He was right in the beginning; consequently, there was no room for after-corrections. So the reading of forty-five years made no sensible addition to his stock of divinity. The reason is apparent; he did not read much divinity. Yet, who can dare affirm

that our founder was not a divine, a correct divine, even a great divine.

4. Although the Bible was his chief "Institutes," yet he was willing to learn the *history of the Church* from human authors. He was well acquainted with the principal ecclesiastical historians. The list gives the names of Eusebius, Episcopus, Beveridge, Turretine, Laval, Prince, Baxter, Knox, Crantz, Wodrow, Mosheim, writers who deal with the entire history of the Church, or with particular sections, and also the history of the Puritans. It also gives Middleton on Church Government, and Lord King on the Constitution of the Primitive Church. These authors must have furnished large and thorough knowledge on the history and government of the Church. When we put confidence in the fabric called Methodism, we do so reasonably, knowing the contriver and founder, under Providence, was a wise master builder.

5. And our founder was well read in some branches of *controversial divinity*, which his own times impelled him to investigate, and to controvert. Although he hated controversy, and shrunk from it, yet much of his life was spent in the study and practice of it. He was early read in, and almost seduced by writers of the Mystic or Quietist school. And so was Charles Wesley, whose mind, all through life, cried, "To the desert, to the desert!" says his brother. Archbishop Fenelon, Madame Guyon, Anna Schurman, Antoinette Bourignon, were eminent members of the sect. He also read, in order to controvert various errors in, the works of the Moravians, the Swedenborgians, the Behmenites, the Quakers, the Calvinists, the English Deists, the Papists, the Socinians. The list exhibits some books belonging to each of these classes, which he read and noticed. By much reading of controversy and practice, with the aid of his well-learned logic, he became an expert disputant. His mark was so sure, and his arrow so sharp, that he failed not in piercing and defeating the adversary.

6. One class of books in the list will rather surprise those who know little or nothing of the life of Mr. Wesley; I mean the books on the theory and practice of *medicine*. Rather strange that he could patiently read about deformity, by Hay; the hydrocele, by Else; the gravel and stone, by Peru; anatomy, by Hunter, or the practice of physic, by M'Bride. The truth is, that the members of the clerical profession had very little faith in the ability or honesty of the members of the curative profession. He therefore sought how to cure himself, and after a time learned to cure others also. When he took cold, with cough and hoarseness, a garlic plaster to his feet drew it away; and when a pleurisy laid hold of him, he sent

it off by a brimstone plaster to his side. In the year 1748 he said, "For six or seven and twenty years I have made anatomy and physic the diversion of my leisure hours."—*Plain Account of the Methodists*. Want of confidence in the medical profession was the reason, for he says in 1747, "For more than twenty years I have had numberless proofs that regular physicians do exceeding little good."—*Letter to Mr. John Smith*. A poor character for the doctors of the first half of the eighteenth century!

7. Another class of books in the catalogue may excite much greater surprise. Religious persons of small reading and narrow views would never expect Mr. Wesley to have read Mr. Home's *Tragedy of Douglas*, or Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. Still less would they suspect that a clergyman of his character would, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and with eyes dim and dimmer growing, spend his time in reading such a book as Captain Wilson's *Account of the Pelew Islands*, *The Exploits of the famous Baron Trenck*, or *the Life of the Actress Mrs. Bellamy*. As one end of his reading was entertainment, these books were suitable for the purpose. When he read, the books were new, or not long published. Each was much talked of; and curiosity was another motive. He read, too, as a critic or reviewer, to pass an opinion. While such authors are not of the best description, neither are they of the worst. It is not to be supposed that a mind like his, so upright and well-balanced, could be hurt. His eye was single: and to the pure all things are pure.

8. In portraying Mr. Wesley as a literary man, there must be no concealment of what he really was. He certainly was pleased with books of *entertainment*. He was fond of the works of *imagination*. A finely wrought fiction, in prose or poetry, to him was very attractive. Ignorant persons condemn all fiction, forgetting (if they ever knew) that the most glorious literature in the world is fiction, and that some of the most sublime and pathetic parts of the Bible are imaginative. Homer he was delighted with, and exclaims: "What an amazing genius had this man!" and praises the old Greek's thought, expression, and piety, "in spite of his pagan prejudices." After he had read Voltaire's epic of *Henriade*, he praises the liveliness and imagination of the author; but condemns the French tongue as the "poorest, meanest language in Europe," and declares "it is as impossible to write a fine poem in French as to make fine music on a Jew's harp." In one of his journeys he read another French work, namely, the prose-poetic romance of *Telemachus*, by Fenelon. He condemned the form, but praised the sense of the book. The beautiful and pathetic fiction of the *Death of Abel*, by the Swiss

poet and painter, Solomon Gesner, attracted his attention. He called this style of prose-poetry "prose run mad." In 1763 Macpherson published his translation of Ossian from the Erse language. Three years after Mr. Wesley read Ossian when in Ireland, and thought Fingal "a wonderful poem." He rather doubted whether it is orally in the Erse, but, says he, "many assure me it is." In 1784, he read Fingal again. The authenticity he now considered "beyond all reasonable contradiction." Ossian, he thought, in some respects, superior to Homer or Virgil: "What a hero was Fingal!" In 1786, he once more read Fingal, and his admiration increased still more. Probably no epic poet but Ossian did Mr Wesley ever read three times. As Alexander the Great kept the Iliad as his companion, so the great Napoleon appreciated Ossian. "Admiration of the sublime Ossian," said Talleyrand, "seemed to detach him from the world."—*Alison*, xxv. Other great works of imagination, as Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, and Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, appear in the list, with Sir Richard Blackmore's Prince Arthur. Passing by all other reading, when we say that our founder was well acquainted with the great poems of Homer, Virgil, Milton, Voltaire, Tasso, Ariosto, and Ossian, we say enough to prove his fine literary taste and rich literary acquisitions. To them we may safely add nearly all remaining of the Greek and Latin poets, with our English poets Shakspeare, Thomson, Byrom, Beattie, Gray, and others. A man whose taste led him to study the principal poets of ancient and modern times, in the Greek, Latin, French, and English tongues, is surely deserving of something of a literary name. We find that he never read the "Odyssey" of Homer, until he was sixty-five years of age. Like many others, he understood the second work was inferior to his first, and

"The last effort of an expiring muse."

"But," says he, "how was I mistaken!" and considered the Odyssey even superior to the Iliad.

9. Mr. Wesley, in his life-time and since, has often been judged and called a *fanatic*. If any think so still, let them read the catalogue of his books. Is there any divine, philosopher, or literary person of the day, whose reading has been more sober, rational, philosophic, scientific, or in accordance with correct taste and the discriminative judgment of a scholar? Look at the founders of some religious bodies, as George Fox, Swedenborg, Joanna Southcote, and some of the new and now rising visionaries, and the great difference will be instantly seen. In his works are some strange and wonderful relations of what he saw or heard of. A

weak-headed man he has been considered, to believe in the marvelous and supernatural. In the list of books is one on witchcraft, and another on apparitions, by Baxter. In these two subjects he believed, as also in demoniacs, yet his belief was very sober, and altogether founded on the Bible, which abounds in instances of these three supernaturals. Says Dr. Johnson: "That the dead are seen no more, I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages and of all nations. . . . That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues, confess it by their fears."—*Rasselas*, xxxi.

10. While Mr. Wesley read some sermons, as Seed's, Blair's, and Erskine's, and read works on taste and genius, education and political economy, the sciences and natural and moral philosophy, music and poetry, rhetoric and logic, yet he was fonder of books of *voyages and travels*, with the memoirs or *biographies* of eminent persons. In the former department we find the list containing travels and voyages by Norden, Lord Anson, Byron, Dr. Shaw, Forster, Captain Cook, and Captain Wilson. In the latter department we find in the list memoirs or lives of the Henrys, Loyola, Lopez, Colonel Gardiner, St. Patrick, Baxter, Peter the Great, Shah Nadir, Theodore of Corsica, St. Catherine, William Lilly, Mohammed, William Edmundson, Belisarius, Lord Herbert, Anna Schurman, and Count Marsay. A person who reads for diversion will never choose dry, hard, and abstract subjects, but what is attractive and entertaining, at the same time instructive, as is the case with this sort of reading, which, therefore, answered the object of the reader.

11. But the class of books our founder was the fondest of was *antiquities and history*. Doubtless before he went to, or while a scholar and fellow of Oxford University, he had read most or all of the Greek and Latin historians. After he became a field preacher he still read history, the delight of all great men. In antiquities the list shows works read of Roman, Greek, and Hebrew remains, with Rogers's Essay on the Learning of the Ancients, and Weston's Wonders of Antiquity. In 1757, when in the West of England, he read Mr. Borlase's Account of the Antiquities of Cornwall, describing the ancient monuments remaining of the Druids, the Romans, and the Saxons. General histories he read, as Rollin's Ancient History, and Dobb's Universal History, and gave some regard to foreign places, as Belgium, Italy, and Palmyra. He read Dr. Robertson's History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and of America, and complains severely of the extraneous matter inserted.

On the History of England, the list has no authors but Dalrymple and Smollett, with the histories of two English towns, Whitby and Norwich. The motive for reading the history of Norwich was, perhaps, to find the character of former generations. In 1785 he told the present generation, especially the members of the Methodist society, that they were the most troublesome people he had to deal with. "Of all the people I have seen in the kingdom, for between forty and fifty years, you have been the most fickle, and yet the most stubborn." He complained, too, of Dr. Smollett, for slandering the Methodists in his history of the reign of George the Second, charging the Wesleys and Whitefield with "imposture and fanaticism," and with laying the "whole kingdom under contribution." Says Mr. Wesley: "Poor Dr. Smollett! Thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falsehoods!" Mr. Wesley seems to have felt more interest in Scotch history than English. He read Guthrie's History of Scotland; some years after he read another by Stuart, and also an Inquiry into the Charges against Mary, Queen of Scotland. He sides with the Scotch authors, completely clears Mary, and pronounces her, not only beautiful, but one of the wisest and best of princes. He has no mercy on Queen Elizabeth, who was "as just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mohammed." Nor is he more lenient to her successor James the First. On his way to Dundee, in 1774, he read an Account of the famous Gowry Conspiracy in 1600. "The whole was a piece of king-craft," says he, "the clumsy invention of a covetous and bloodthirsty tyrant!" He delivers his mind very freely, as freely as any republican could desire, concerning rulers. Thus, when reading the Life of the Pope Sextus Quintus, he says, the pope had some excellent qualities, but then he was "as far from being a Christian as Henry the Eighth or Oliver Cromwell." And after he had read Wodrow's Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, he passes summary sentence on the character of Charles the Second: "O what a blessed governor was that good-natured man, so called, King Charles the Second! Bloody Queen Mary was a lamb, a mere dove, in comparison of him." No Puritan could scarcely speak worse of the House of Tudor; or Presbyterian of the House of Stuart. Still, our founder was a great monarchist in theory and sentiment; but he wanted all princes to be, not only good, but the best of men.

12. While considering Mr. Wesley as a lover and reader of history, any one looking over the list must be struck with his fondness for *Irish history*. English history, doubtless, he had read in his youth. Going into Scotland on different tours, he acquired an interest in, and books of, Scottish story. But North Britain never

received our founder, or his preachers, as Ireland. He calls the Irish "an immeasurably-loving people." "What a nation is this!" cries he; "every man, woman, and child, not only patiently, but gladly, suffer the word of exhortation." Yet he found a drawback. "But still they who are ready to eat up every word, do not appear to digest any part of it." When in Ireland in 1747, he procured a genuine account of the great Irish Massacre of 1641, when Charles the First sat on the throne of England. "More than two hundred thousand* of Protestant men, women, and children, butchered in a few months, in cool blood, and with such circumstances of cruelty as make one's blood run cold." The next year he visited Ireland, and read Sir James Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*. He learned that the country was tenfold more populous formerly, and that many great cities were now ruinous heaps. Then he read the *Life of St. Patrick*, and concluded that either the saint did not preach the Gospel, or that "there was then no devil in the world" to hinder. In 1758, he read Mr. Walker's account of the Siege of Londonderry, and Dr. Bernard's account of the Siege of Drogheda; also Dr. Curry's (a papist) *History of the Irish Rebellion*, and the answer to it, by Mr. Harris. In 1760 Mr. Wesley was in Ireland, and then read Sir John Davis's *Historical relations concerning Ireland*. He learned that before the English came the Irish waged incessant war with each other; and that after the English came they waged continual war with the English. From 1641 to 1644 a million of people was cut off by massacre and civil war. He also read Smith's *State of the County and City of Waterford*. "Twelve hundred years ago Ireland was a flourishing kingdom. It seems to have been declining almost ever since." In 1765, when at Athlone, he read Sir Richard Cox's *History of Ireland*. Says he: "I do not now wonder Ireland is thinly inhabited, but that it has any inhabitants at all. Probably it had been wholly desolate before now, had not the English come and prevented the implacable wretches from going on till they had swept each other from the earth." In 1769 he finished Dr. Warner's *History of the Irish Rebellion*. "I never saw before so impartial an account." In 1773, on his passage to Dublin, he read a new author on the *History of Ireland*, namely, Dr. Leland, who was "a fine writer, but unreasonably partial." In 1779 he took in hand Dr. Warner's *History of Ireland to the English Conquest*, and calls the book "a mere senseless romance." Says he, "I totally reject the authorities." Mr. Wesley loved the people of Ireland. He read so much about them, in order to understand them. A number of times he went all over the kingdom, preaching

* Three hundred thousand, he says in another place.—*Journal*, 1760.

the Gospel, and left more happy results of his labor and love than did St. Patrick.

13. Among his historical reading are two books concerning *India*, a country which for six months past has attracted the eye of the world. One was the Abbé Raynal's *History of the Settlements and Trades of the Europeans in the Indies*. Mr. Wesley criticises the book very sharply; and others have objected to the sentiments and the facts (so called.) The other he read in 1776, and is called an *Account of the Affairs in the East Indies*, by Mr. Bolt. Europeans began to trade with India in the sixteenth century. They began to form settlements on the coasts in the seventeenth. The English power in India was weak and declining during the first half of the eighteenth. Mr. Clive went out in the service of the East India Company, a man of great ability and courage, and English affairs began to revive. He returned to England, and was sent out again in 1755, as Governor of Fort St. David. The victory of Plassey, in 1757, over a native prince, secured the province of Bengal, and laid the foundation of the present British power in India. Clive again returned, and received the title of Lord Clive from the king. Indian affairs went into confusion, and in 1764 Lord Clive again sailed to India. He returned again. In 1778 a committee of the House of Commons examined into the charges against him. He was exculpated, but his proud spirit could not brook the mortification, and he committed suicide the next year. Indian affairs, then, had occupied the public attention for some years. Mr. Bolt's account came out, and Mr. Wesley read it, as "much the best that is extant." Then come the reader's reflections:

"But what a scene is here opened! What consummate villains, what devils incarnate, were the managers there! What utter strangers to justice, mercy, and truth; to every sentiment of humanity! I believe no heathen history contains a parallel. I remember none in all the annals of antiquity; not even the divine Cato or the virtuous Brutus plundered the provinces committed to their charge with such merciless cruelty, as the English have plundered the desolated provinces of Hindoostan."

The condemnation is very severe. Yet desolation is always the result of war, and the conquerors have ever plundered the conquered, with more or less severity. The Bible and history are full of examples. And the "publican," or collector of tribute, was never an object of love, but of fear and hatred intense.

14. The preceding catalogue of books affords a good idea of the extent and variety of the reading of our founder. Additional diligence and leisure would allow a researcher to add, probably, a hundred other works to the catalogue; some he would find mentioned, and some he

would learn by implication. In the latter class, the quotations elegantly but not profusely sprinkled over the works of Mr. Wesley, show a number of authors more or less known and read. The taste and skill shown in the introduction of fine sentiments or reflections from the Greek and Latin poets is especially worthy of remark. I never noticed any quotations from the ancient Greek dramatists, Aristophanes, Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, nor from the celebrated ode writers, Pindar and Anacreon; but there is a quotation from Hesiod, one from Sappho, and a few from Homer. The first is quoted in the sermon of Good Angels, and the second in the paper entitled, *A Thought upon Marriage*. The Latin poets he more frequently quotes than the Greek. While he honors Persius, Martial, Ovid, and Juvenal, he mostly delights in Horace and Virgil. He had a high esteem for the ancient authors. Says he to Mr. Joseph Benson, when a young man:

"You would gain more clearness and strength of judgment by reading those Latin and Greek books (compared with which most of the English are whipped syllabub) than by fourscore modern books."

15. Further to show Mr. Wesley as a literary man, that is a man knowing, appreciating, and loving books, we may look over the list of authors he selected for the use of the Kingswood School, which he "designed for the children of the Methodists, and for the sons of the itinerant preachers." However, as the list is too long for this place, we will refer the reader to Myles's *Chronological History of the Methodists*, ch. xvii. No one but a highly educated man, and a man well acquainted with human literature, to say nothing of his piety, could make such a selection, and ordain such rules for the cultivation of the understanding and the heart.

In concluding this part of the article on Mr. Wesley as a literary man, it will be proper to ask the ancient question, What good? The humble pen now writing thinks ONE use of the present article will be, to shed some light on a resolution of our founder, which has been often misunderstood. He resolved, in the fervor of his piety, to be a *man of one book*. Says he, in an incomparably artless and child-like manner:

"I want to know one thing: the way to heaven; how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach the way; for this very end he came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book. O give me that book! At any price give me the book of God. I have it; here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be *homo unius libri*," (that is, a man of one book.)—*Preface to Sermons*, 1747.

The misunderstanding has been, that he meant to read "one book" only; a meaning strengthened by the expression, "Here is knowledge

enough for me." Against this view of the resolution may be set the multitude of books Mr. Wesley read before and after he made it. Also the large number of books he wrote and recommended. Further, his argument against the preachers who urge, "But I read only the Bible." Says he: "This is rank enthusiasm. If you need no book but the Bible, you are got above St. Paul. He wanted others too. 'Bring the books,' says he, 'but especially the parchments,' those wrote on parchment."—*Minutes of Conference*, 32d question. Then, by "a man of one book," Mr. Wesley meant, not only, but chiefly the Bible; and by "here is knowledge enough," he meant "of the way to heaven,"

A SECOND use of the article may be, to show how we are to understand one of the General Rules of the Methodist Societies, namely, to avoid "*singing those songs, and reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God.*" The legislator's own practice is no incongruous commentary on his own law. Did our founder, in regard to reading, observe the rule? was he himself a faithful member of the Methodist society? Doubtless, in his own judgment, in the opinion of his preachers, and in the view of his own members and of the religious world generally, he practiced what he required. To understand the rule, the inquiry must be, not What did Mr. Wesley read? but, What did he pass by? There is a class of authors which may be named *nonsensical*; another class whose works are decidedly *immoral*; and a third issues books directly or indirectly *infidel*, and opposed to natural and revealed religion. The catalogue shows an exclusion of all works belonging to these classes; containing, on the contrary, books of a generally useful, solid, truthful, moral, and religious character. As preachers and members of the Methodist society, we need not study the art of casuistry, to understand the rule and the application thereof. A safer and easier guidance is the practice of the venerated law maker. What our founder read, surely we, preachers, his sons in the Gospel, may read; and what he allowed himself, surely we may allow the members under our care. The catalogue is the commentary on the rule.

A THIRD use is in the way of example, especially to preachers. Is it not wonderful how a man who was almost ever traveling, and preaching, and writing, could contrive to read so much? The fact is, that his reading was mostly when traveling. A number of books he read on the Irish Channel, in his many crossings to and from Ireland. He read a great many books on horseback; with a book in one hand, and a slack rein in the other, he traveled many thousands of miles, and over and over the principal roads of England,

Wales, and Ireland. In his old age his friends provided a chaise drawn by two horses; and then the chaise became his reading-room. Unexpected interruptions in his travels, times of sickness, and winter seasons, would afford some respite to his unwearied activity and some additional and in-door opportunities of reading. Surely Mr. Wesley may be held up, even in this reading day, as an example. And with all our leisure and opportunity, what "son in the Gospel" has excelled him? rather, who has approached him, in the extent and variety of his reading?

To understand more completely our founder as a literary man, we must look not only at what he *read*, but at what he *wrote* and the *style* of his writings. Enough, however, for the present.

ART. VIII.—THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST.

THE subject of this article is one of grave importance, and demands serious consideration. It forms a query in the minds of thousands. Some, full of fear and despondency, conclude they have committed the sin; they give up hope and live in utter despair of obtaining salvation. Others oscillate between doubt and despair. Not knowing the real nature of the sin, they dare not decide whether they are guilty of its commission. The food of happiness is taken from their hungry souls, or if they partake of it the nutritive element is wanting. These states of mind are not unfrequent in the religious world. They affect the young and old, the intelligent and uninstructed, the penitent seeker of salvation, and the acknowledged believer in Christ Jesus.

There are three questions which I wish to consider. I. What was the sin against the Holy Ghost in the Saviour's time, as spoken of by him? II. Can the sin against the Holy Ghost in that sense be committed in the present day? III. If not, is there now any sin against the Holy Ghost? If so, what is that sin?

I. What was the sin against the Holy Ghost in the Saviour's time as spoken of by him? Reference must be made to the passages in which the sin is mentioned. Three of the evangelists, out of the four, make mention of it. Matthew and Mark mention the particular circumstance which gave rise to the solemn language of Christ.

Luke simply throws in the statement without the circumstance. Matthew informs us that there "was brought unto him [Christ] one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, inasmuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw." The Pharisees, when they heard of it, said, "This fellow doth not cast out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." Jesus Christ, upon hearing this, vindicated his miracle from such foul imputations, and declared that the miracle was wrought by the Spirit of God. Then, after a few more words of comment, he repeated the words: "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." Matt. xii, 22-32. The language of Mark is: "Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme: but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation: because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Mark iii, 28-30. Luke gives the mind of Christ in these words: "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven." Luke xii, 10.

It will be seen from the above quotations that there is no difference expressed as to the *unpardonableness* of the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mark alone tells us the reason why he spoke of the sin against the Holy Ghost: "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Matthew does not use the same language, but it is obvious that the words of Christ concerning this sin arose out of the accusation of the Jews: "This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of devils." The evident meaning of the Saviour is, that the Jews were guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which sin consisted in accusing him of possessing an unclean spirit, and imputing to that spirit the performance of the miracle which he had just wrought. This was dishonor, insult, blasphemy, to the Holy Ghost. It was a dethronement of the Holy Ghost, and an exaltation of the prince of the devils. It was an expulsion of the Holy Ghost from his own dominion, and a recognition of the monarch of hell as his substitute. It was taking the work of mercy and grace, which could only be accomplished by the Holy Ghost, and attributing it to the enemy of all righteousness, full of subtlety, malice, hatred, revenge, covetousness, and all abominations. In this, I conceive the sin against the Holy Ghost to have consisted

in the time of Christ, as spoken of by him in the language quoted above.

There is another question in immediate connection with this, which deserves a passing notice. Is the sin against the Holy Ghost, spoken of by Christ, mentioned or alluded to in any other parts of the New Testament? I have not found that it is. There are three passages which, by some, may be considered as alluding to the sin. Heb. vi, 4-6: "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." There is here no reference at all to the sin against the Holy Ghost. The impossibility of renewing again to repentance such as fall away from grace, is not said to rest upon the sin against the Holy Ghost, but upon the renunciation of Christ, "seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." Here is the heinous sin of the persons here referred to. In the practice of this sin consists the impossibility of their salvation. They denounce and trample upon the only Saviour that can save them; their salvation while in this course of life is "impossible."

Heb. x, 26, 27: "For if we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries." This is a parallel passage to the one just considered, and may in part admit of the same exegesis. It does not, however, make mention of or refer to the sin against the Holy Ghost. Its denotation appears to be, that an apostasy from the Christian religion leaves the subject of that apostasy without any hope of salvation, because there is left to him no more sacrifice for his sins than the one which by his apostasy he actually disavows and rejects.

1 John v, 16: "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it." There is no allusion here to the sin against the Holy Ghost. I see nothing in the passage which would lead the mind to infer that St. John referred to the sin. He says, "There is a sin unto death," but does not state what it is. He does not explain in any other part of the chapter or epistle. There is, therefore, no ground for the supposition that he alludes to this particular sin.

My object in quoting these texts was not to give a legitimate ex-

planation of them, but simply to show that they do not signify the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense declared by our Lord in the Gospels.

II. Can the sin against the Holy Ghost, as expressed by the Saviour, be committed in the present day? This is the second question for consideration.

1. In the exact sense in which the Jews committed it, no person can be guilty of this sin in the present age of the world. The Saviour is not now upon the earth in his incarnation. He does not go about doing good among men. His goodness and power are not manifest in the manner they were in the land of the Jews. The deaf and dumb, possessed of a devil, are not brought to him that he might, in the sight of the people, cast out the evil spirit. There is, therefore, no opportunity for any man to say of him, upon seeing or hearing of him casting out a devil, "This fellow doth not cast out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." The possibility of this is not in the power of any existing being.

2. But could not a person, upon the authority of the evangelists, as mere historians, believe that Jesus Christ actually lived as they relate, and wrought miracles, but that they were accomplished through Satanic agency? and would not this be the sin against the Holy Ghost of which the Jews were guilty? It would not be the *same* sin, because the persons, the time, and place differ; also for the reasons above stated. Whether it would be a sin against the Holy Ghost at all, I will not attempt to divine. But granting that it would, I imagine it exceeding difficult, if not impossible in the nature of things, for such a sin to be committed. The faith which would receive the Gospels only as historical narratives, as it would receive any ancient record of facts, would preclude the commission of such a sin. There is no evidence whatsoever in the Gospels, that the basest of men could take, on which to accuse Christ of working his miracles by an evil spirit. The very opposite is the case. No man, in the use of his proper senses, could believe from the evangelic history, that Jesus was a Satanic agent for the accomplishment of his diabolical purposes. The nature of the things he said and did, as well as the life he led, as recorded by the evangelists, show him to have been a being of whom Satan, according to his very nature, kingdom, and operations, could not approve, not to say employ as his agent. But if a man should reject the Gospels and Christianity, what then? He could not be guilty of the sin, inasmuch as by this rejection he would deny the miracle and the person *in toto*, consequently the commission of the sin would be impracticable. The Jews admitted the miracle, but attributed it to Satanic power within

him; he neither believes that the person existed as the history states, nor that the miracles were wrought, therefore he is not guilty of the sin as the Jews were.

III. If the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense spoken of by the Saviour, cannot be committed in the present day, is there any sin at all against the Holy Ghost now? and if so, what is that sin? This question shall now have attention.

1. That there is a sin against the Holy Ghost will, I think, appear evident from his character as a person and as Divine. He possesses personal properties and affections. He possesses attributes and performs works which constitute him Divine, and associate him with the Father and Son as co-equal; constituting the mysterious truth of the eternal Trinity. This fact implies that he is as capable of being the object of sin as either the Father or the Son.

2. But what is the nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost, which a man may commit in the present age of the world? The answer to this question must arise out of the character of the Holy Ghost, his work with men, and relationship to them. In regard to his character, that does not differ from the Father or the Son; that is, he is, like them, Divine in all the attributes of his nature. In this respect a sin committed against the Holy Ghost does not differ from a sin committed against the Father or Son, seeing he is one with them, undivided and equal.

It is the work of the Holy Ghost with man, and his relationship to him, that gives to sin committed against him its solemn peculiarity, and distinguishes it from sin committed against either God the Father or God the Son. In the salvation of man, each person in the Godhead has his respective relation to man, and work with him. God the Father is represented as the sovereign of man, dispensing to him pardon, and all the blessings of the Gospel redemption. God the Son is represented as the Saviour of man, through whom all these blessings have been purchased, and are communicated unto him. God the Holy Ghost is represented as the agent with man, by whom he is brought to seek these blessings bestowed by the Father through the Son. I say, in the salvation of man there is this distinction made in the work which each person in the Godhead sustains in that salvation, while, in the eternal and unchangeable essence of their Divinity, they are one undivided God.

A mere cursory view of the New Testament will establish these statements beyond a doubt. "For through him [Christ] we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father." Eph. ii, 18. "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh

unto the Father, but by me." John xiv, 6. "But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ." Eph. ii, 4, 5. Numerous other texts may be quoted upon this subject; but it is not relevant.

It was stated above, that the Holy Ghost is represented in Scripture as the agent with man to bring him to seek the blessings of redemption bestowed by God the Father through God the Son. One passage was adduced in proof of this, Eph. ii, 18. Another is recorded in John xvi, 8: "And when he [the Spirit] is come, he will reprove [the marginal reading is convince, which corresponds most with the original] the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." The history of conversions, from the day of Pentecost downward, and the experience of all who now enjoy the blessing of salvation, are corroborative evidence of the truth, that the Holy Ghost is the agent by whom sinners are led to God through Christ. Besides, there are other thoughts in relation to man's first state of grace with which the Spirit is the Divine agent. His liberty from the errors of false systems of religion, from the thralldom and slavery of the flesh and the devil, takes place only by the indwelling of the Spirit. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 2 Cor. iii, 17. We cannot become the property of Christ as his purchased possession, and have an inward assurance of it, but by the Spirit. "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Rom. viii, 9. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Rom. viii, 16. His regeneration from a state of darkness into light, from nature to grace, etc., is effected by the Holy Ghost. "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. . . . That which is born of the Spirit, is spirit." John iii, 5, 6. We cannot even call Christ "Lord," as St. Paul, "but by the Holy Ghost. In one word, man is utterly, absolutely, everlastingly lost to all saving religious light, influence, and blessings, without the Spirit. This is the unequivocal teaching of Scripture, and the undeniable experience of all mankind.

Here, then, we see what is the relation of the Holy Spirit to man, and his work with him, in his natural state. This brings us in our inquiries to the main point in hand, the sin against the Holy Ghost which men may commit in the present age of the world. Any transgression of the laws to be observed by man, in seeking, by the agency of the Spirit, the salvation of his soul, must be sin against the Spirit, those laws being of his imposition and authority. Any opposition offered, or violence done to the Holy Ghost, in his

gracious and benign influences to convince man of sin and guide him to a pardoning God, through an atoning Saviour, is sin against him. The Spirit labors with man for his salvation by direct interference and through mediums. He has immediate access to the mind and heart, as an omniscient Being searching the inmost recesses, and disclosing the hidden and secret contents to the conscience and understanding; to rebel against this procedure of the Spirit is sin against him. He insinuates and draws men, by the charms of his love and grace, from the rugged ways of sin into the luxurious paths of virtue and holiness; to repel these influences and steel the heart against them, is sin offered to the Holy Ghost. In the hour of moral danger, in the season of temptation, he cautions and admonishes the sinner not to involve his soul in deeper guilt; to close the ear and go on heedlessly, is sin against the Spirit. He unfolds the justice, goodness, and holiness of the Divine law, and creates a sense of obligation to observe that law; to close the eye against the discovery, and wipe away that sense of obligation, is sin against the Holy Ghost. He sets forth the perfect excellence of Christ, his adaptation as a Saviour, the necessity of faith in him for salvation, wooing, beseeching, laboring to persuade the soul to come and receive, by the faith he shall inspire, "the Lamb of God;" to withstand, resist, and command the Spirit to "Go thy way for this time," is a sin against him. The Spirit labors with sinners by a combination of agencies, such as the ministry, the word, providence, Christians, and all the means of grace included in the Church of Christ; to resist or throw off all the convictions, desires, purposes, or resolutions which these may excite in the heart, is to sin against the Holy Ghost. Observe, that in rejecting any one or all of the agencies employed by the Spirit, is not to sin against *them*, but against the Spirit, seeing they are not their own, but his; as a criminal, who should refuse the pardon of a sovereign presented to him by the ambassador of the sovereign, would refuse not the grace of the ambassador, but of the sovereign; or, as the rebel, who violates the laws of the monarch made known to him by the magistrate, does no violence to the magistrate, but to the monarch who made the laws and commanded them to be obeyed.

Here it may be said, Does not this view exonerate the sinner from sin against the Holy Ghost, seeing he is an agent of the Father; and constitute the sin into one against God, and not against the Spirit? It must be remembered that the Spirit is God. He is so essentially and perfectly, as much so as the Son or the Father. In the part he takes in man's salvation, he is equal in his Divinity to either the first or second Person in the Trinity. He is God, as

the great agent of man's salvation; therefore, to be guilty of any conduct such as is instanced above, is to sin against him; as much as trampling upon the blood of the covenant is a sin against Christ, or to blaspheme the name of the Lord is a sin against God.

Is the sin against the Holy Ghost, in the sense just described, *unpardonable*? Is there no forgiveness for it, neither in this world nor in that which is to come? There is a negative and a positive answer to these questions. There is a sense in which the sin is pardonable, and in which it is not pardonable. Whatever sins may be committed against the Holy Ghost are pardonable, so long as he continues to act with the sinner as the agent of his salvation. The continuance of the Spirit is a satisfactory evidence upon this particular. But a protracted, determined, unwavering course of hostility to the Spirit, until the Spirit is driven from all direct or indirect agency with him, is a sin which hath not forgiveness. If his light be lost in darkness, how great is that darkness! There is none left to shed the feeblest gleam athwart the blackness of darkness which, as a deathly pall, hangs over his self-murdered soul. If his heat be *quenched* by the frigid influences of sin, no more to be revived and re-strengthened, there is no power which can melt or subdue the frozen heart into sensibility; nothing that can circulate through the moral system a life-blood and action which shall lead to God. If, as a guide to the Saviour, he be rejected, despised, bound in bondage, or forced to depart, there is no angel spirit, no glorified immortal, no sanctified Christian, no concentration of wisdom, love, and power, sufficient to open the way and direct the abject soul to the bleeding cross. He must wander everlastingly amid the wilds and horrors, the wants and woes of a lost, lost, lost soul.

It is in this sense that I regard the sin against the Holy Ghost unpardonable. It is impossible to bring one thus abandoned of the Spirit to repentance. He is utterly incapable of faith in Christ. Regeneration is no more possible than the change of the Ethiopian's skin by his own hands, or the change of the leopard's spots by its own paws.

When may a man be said to have committed this unpardonable sin? In the absence of all those convictions, desires, purposes, feelings, etc., included in the work of the Spirit with man, as previously described, without any return of them, it is to be feared that this sin has been committed. When the broad, glorious light of the Gospel shines upon the sinner, and he has no eye to see the faintest ray, because he has suffered the god of this world to blind him; when the voice of the charmer can charm never so sweetly in his

ears, to lure and attract to the pleasant ways of grace, and he hears not, because he has been deafened by the lulling sounds of the syren of hell; when every avenue to his soul is closed, and the soul itself twice dead by original and actual iniquities; when he stands in the dispensation of mercy, insensible, unsusceptible, boasting in his self-security, declaring his independence of every moral obligation, feeling he has nothing to fear from his sins, nothing to dread from God, saying, "What have I done? my conscience is at ease; I need not your Gospel repentance and faith; I am prepared to meet my Judge:" in such a case, there is evidence sufficient to show that the fatal sin has been committed. The Spirit has taken his flight, and left the wretched soul to live out the residue of his days without feeling after God; without any hope or desire after salvation, hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, having nothing before him but a fearful looking for of fiery indignation which shall devour the adversary.

How many such cases there are, I would not presume to say. I would hesitate to declare of any *particular* man, whom I might be asked to judge upon, that he had committed the unpardonable sin. That there are such in the world, where Christianity has been promulged, cannot be denied, but who they are by name or person, I would leave their conscience and God to decide.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—The protracted sufferings of the Christian missions in India have been a spur to the various missionary societies to mature a combined system of evangelization, which, it is confidently hoped, will prove much more effectual than the hitherto too little connected operations of so many different religious bodies. Thus the Indian mutiny is already becoming a source of much good, for the missionary zeal of the Christian denominations is aroused to an unprecedented degree. At home, the Church of England is reflecting on the most suitable means of drawing the masses of the people into its churches and meetings, and of warning them against the doctrines of infidelity or indifference, which a rapidly increasing number of talented and popular papers spread among them. The

regular services commenced by the evangelical party in the unconsecrated Exeter Hall, have been forbidden by the High Church rector of the parish; and the High Church party indulges the hope, that perhaps the same object may be reached by special services in the churches, at which all the seats are free. The splendor displayed by the Church at the marriage of the Princess Royal has filled many Churchmen with satisfaction, but at the same time, the connection between Church and State is as productive of strife and discord as ever. The Divorce Act has now gone into operation, but a large portion of the clergy refuse to submit to it, and the Bishop of Oxford has enjoined to all his surrogates never to grant a license for marriage to any person whose divorced husband or wife is still living. The Society for the Revival of the Convocation thinks that all the pressing requirements of religion

may be summed up in one word—convocation; and the anti-Church-rate party, whose leaders, according to High-Church papers, are all Dissenters, Radicals, and Freethinkers, endeavor again to effect the total and uncompensated abolition of Church rates.

The Roman Church.—Another large batch of Tractarians has gone over to Rome, under the training of the Rev. Dr. Manning. Great efforts are made by the members of the Roman Church in England and Ireland, to organize, under the management of monastic orders, reformatories for juvenile delinquents, some of which are already, it seems, in a successful operation.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—The High-Church Lutherans of Prussia, though no longer basking in the royal protection, have still a great influence on the Church government. The Provincial Consistories are actively working in its favor, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council has again made to them some far-reaching concessions. In order to oppose their tendencies more effectually, the orthodox friends of the Union have organized themselves anew in the provinces of Pomerania and Saxony, in the latter under the leadership of Dr. Stier, the well-known theological author. The Rationalistic Dissenters have been treated with greater clemency since the regency of the Prince of Prussia. In Bavaria the Lutheran Church of the seven old provinces, and the United Church of the Palatinate have held general synods. The former, which was ordered this year by the government, from fear of exciting debates, to hold two separate General Synods at Bayreuth and Ansbach, has indorsed the High Lutheran views of the Supreme Consistory of Munich, while the United Church of the Palatinate, through its General Synod at Spire, has abrogated the rationalistic hymn book, and nearly completed the reorganization of the Church, on an entirely evangelical basis. In Württemberg several synods have petitioned the king for a greater independence of the Church, as the Concordat grants to the Roman Church much more of self-government than the Protestant Church enjoys. Preparations are made, in accordance with this report, to transfer the whole jurisdiction over ecclesiastical matters from the state to ecclesiastical

boards. In Austria numerous conversions are still taking place to the Protestant Church, and Dr. Nowotny, formerly an Austrian priest, and now pastor of an evangelical congregation in Silesia, has published a list of thirty-five priests and members of religious orders, who within the last few years have renounced the Roman and adopted the evangelical creed. The Methodist and Baptist missions are uninterruptedly progressing, and, though consistories and Church Gazettes not rarely thunder against them, are on the whole no longer so much annoyed as in years past by the interference of the police.

The Roman Church.—The ultramontane party in Austria is making a powerful assault upon the plan of studies introduced in 1854 into the Austrian colleges. It is demanded to give to the Latin a greater preponderance than it has at present, by reducing the time devoted to the native tongue and to the natural sciences. A committee of eminent philologists, appointed by the Minister of Instruction to report on these demands, unanimously and strongly opposes them; but it is feared that the ultramontane party will know how to dispose the emperor in favor of it. The restoration of the old monastic discipline in all Austrian convents will considerably increase the number of zealous combatants for the Roman Church, both in Austria and in Germany at large.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.—In many places the tie which binds Church and State together begins to loosen. After the precedence of the cantons of Glaris, Berne, and Neuchâtel, the evangelical portion of the canton of St. Gall is at present occupied with securing to the cantonal Church a greater independence of the state. A committee of the evangelical Grand Council has drafted a new constitution, which transfers nearly the whole jurisdiction over all matters of a merely ecclesiastical character, from the Grand Council to the Annual Synod, which is to consist of all the clergymen of the canton, and lay representatives of every congregation. As a similar progress, we hail a recent decree of the Grand Council of Vaud, by which a law of 1849, forbidding all religious assemblies outside of the national Church, is

repealed. Together with this desire for a greater independence of the state, many wishes are heard for a closer union of the various Church governments. To this end a General Conference has been proposed by Zurich. Among the subjects of deliberation selected for the first conference, we find the appointment of chaplains for the army, a uniform celebration of Good Friday, and others. The Church government of Berne has invited the other cantons, though without the hoped-for result, to address a joint memorial to the Federal Council against the marching of federal troops on Sundays. The religious press seems to prosper. Although already very numerous, it has received a new re-enforcement at the beginning of the present year. The most important among the new papers seems to be a bi-monthly, published at Lausanne, which promises to advocate the principles of a free evangelical Church.

The Roman Catholic Church.—

At the late election of a new National Council, the ultramontane party has not been so successful as, after a few partial victories during the last years, it anticipated. It has elected all its candidates in five cantons (Uri, Zug, Schwytz, Fribourg, and Valais) and two half cantons, (Unterwalden ob. dem Wald, and Appenzell inner Rhoden,) and some of them in the cantons of Lucerne and St. Gall, but counts no more than about twenty representatives among the one hundred and twenty members of the National Council. No ultramontane member has been elected to the executive of Switzerland, the Federal Council, which consists of seven members, and is elected for three years. Three entirely Catholic cantons, Lucerne, Soleure, and Tessin, which are in the hands of the Liberals and Radicals, continue to suppress the last convents still existing within their territories. Argovie and Grisons are quarreling with their bishops on account of the mixed marriages. Instances have again occurred where agreements, concluded to the satisfaction of both parties between Swiss bishops and the cantonal governments of the respective dioceses, have been rejected by the pope. Ultramontanism is growing very strong and bold in Fribourg and Valais; but it has been unexpectedly defeated in one of three old Swiss cantons, (Unterwalden nid. dem Wald,) which were considered as the firmest strongholds of ultramontanism in all Europe.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Lutheran Church.—The defeat of the noble proposition of the Swedish king for establishing greater religious liberty in the Swedish Diet, is a sad proof how far even Protestant nations may go on the way of fanaticism and intolerance. The sentiments expressed by the opponents of the bill, especially by the leading speakers of the clergy, find a parallel only among the most violent ultramontanes of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Even the punishment of exile for secession from the State Church, has not been repealed. Though it has been generally admitted that the execution of such a penalty has become inexpedient on account of the international law, the leading speakers of the clergy have declared their belief that, considered in itself, it is a good and commendable measure. No member of the House of Priests has spoken in favor of the royal proposition, and in one province two hundred and eighty out of four hundred and fifty-seven clergymen have petitioned the Diet for maintaining the penalty of exile, some of them even wishing to render it more severe. More creditable to Sweden is a proposition, made by the Law Committee of the Diet, for a reorganization of the Swedish Church, which hitherto has been without a constitutional organ. It authorizes the king, as often as it pleases him, to convoke a "General Church Assembly," consisting of all the bishops, the *pastor primarius* of Stockholm, four professors of the theological faculties, thirteen representatives chosen by the clergy, and thirty representatives of the laity, all with equal rights. This assembly, however, is not to have any legislative power, but only to express to the king the wishes of the Church.

Roman Catholic Church.—A Danish correspondence of a Belgian paper, republished in the *Univers*, says that several members of the Danish aristocracy have recently joined the Church of Rome. It mentions the chief of one of the first families of the nobility of Holstein, Count Hahn, a brother of the authoress Countess Ida Hahn Hahn, who took the same step some years ago, and a son of Count Blome, of Salzau.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Church.—Never since the independence of Belgium has the ultramontane party suffered so signal a

defeat as at the two elections toward the close of last year. At the former, in October, when one half of the Belgian towns had to renew their councils, hardly one case was heard of in which the Catholic party elected its candidates; at the second, on December 10, when a new Chamber of Representatives was elected, sixty-eight Liberals were chosen to forty members of the Catholic party. The attendance at the polls was uncommonly large, partly owing to the urgent exhortations of the bishops, who recommended the Catholic candidates in pastoral letters. Of 89,631 voters which Belgium has at present, 76,141 took part in the election. Nearly 34,000 votes were cast for the Catholic candidates, leaving about 42,000, almost all nominal Catholics, who disregarded the commands of the bishops. The new ministers are tried friends of the principle of religious freedom, and will preserve it unimpaired in concert with the new Chamber of Representatives.

The Protestant Church.—The *Belgian Evangelical Society* has published another very favorable annual report on the state of its Churches and missions. It counts at present seventeen churches or stations, and twenty-three schools. It supports five colporteurs, and a Christian book concern. The expenses, amounting to 60,000 francs, have been surpassed by the receipts. Several new stations have been established during the last year. As the Bishop of Bruges has publicly repeated the foul slander that the Protestant missionaries pay a prize for their converts, the General Assembly of the Evangelical Society took measures to enlighten the public on the subject.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The Emperor, since the last attempt on his life, regards more than ever the army and the Roman clergy as the two safest pillars of his dynasty. The Church has received several great tokens of his confidence. The name of his eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, appears first among the members of new-established Privy Councils. The bishops of the various ecclesiastical provinces hold again, in violation of the existing law, their provincial councils without previous authorization; and the government not only grants to them this liberty, but the emperor refers to them, on the opening of the Legislature, as to a proof that

"the bishops enjoy the full plenitude of their sacred office." A bloody persecution of the Roman Church in Cochin China, where she counts about half a million of members, has occasioned an alliance between the governments of France and Spain, for the sake of making a common descent on Cochin China, and of arresting the persecution. Also a new law on the suppression of religious controversies in the press, though it may be used against the Roman Church, as well as in her favor, is welcomed by the Ultramontane party, which believes that it will at present be used to stifle the opposition of the Protestant, and, in general, the anti-Roman press. Nevertheless, the emperor has declared again, on opening the Legislature, that it is the wish of his government that the principle of freedom of worship shall be sincerely admitted; and a pamphlet, setting forth the views of the Ultramontane party on religious toleration, has been judicially condemned. The split between the "*Univers*," on the one hand, and Count Montalembert and his friends, on the other, is still carried on with the utmost bitterness, to the great amusement of all unconcerned. But the "*Univers*" is every year more backed by the large army of monks, which increases with great rapidity. In order that none of the many religious orders of the Roman Church may be unrepresented in France, the Barnabites, who until now had only Italian and Russian members, are now establishing a convent and a novitiate.

Protestantism.—The proceedings of the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, which are published in a French, as well as German and English edition, are exciting in France an uncommonly great interest. France has hardly any High Church men, and therefore the sympathy with the objects of the Alliance is universal. The vexatious interpretations which so many magistrates of the provinces put on the liberty of worship, as established by French law, has called forth an eloquent defense of the good right of Protestantism, by the *Journal des Debats*, which has been re-echoed by the liberal press of all Europe, and will not remain effectless, though the military despotism which at present reigns in France may prevent, for some time, further discussions of this kind in the French press.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—On November 15, Sardinia had to choose a new Chamber of Representatives. It was an important day for all Italy, for the issue of the election was to decide whether Protestantism and religious liberty would continue to find protection in the only asylum they have throughout the whole land. The ultramontane party declared the Church to be greatly endangered by the liberal policy of the government. Pastoral letters of the bishops, which were read on the Sunday preceding the election from every pulpit of the kingdom, urged the faithful to cast their votes only for candidates sincerely attached to the Church. The Catholic press, very few in number, but unsurpassed in violence of language, denounced beforehand every priest as recreant to his duty, who should fail to use to the same end all means within his reach; for, as the *Armonia*, of Turin, the leading Catholic organ of Sardinia, remarked, "if of two candidates the one is a Catholic and the other proposes to combat Catholicism, it becomes a duty for the priest to use all means within his reach to secure the election of the Catholic candidate." Notwithstanding such exertions the cause of religious freedom has been victorious, the election resulting as follows: Ministerial Deputies, eighty; Left, thirty; Extreme Left, eight; Center of the Right, thirty-seven; Extreme Right, forty-eight; total, two hundred and three. The first three of these factions, which combined form the majority of the Chamber, are divided and united in their opposition to any encroachment of the priesthood. The Church can rely only on the Extreme Right, as the Center of the Right, though not opposed to some concessions to "*the religion of their fathers*," is very far from identifying itself with the tendencies of ultramontanism. In one of its first sessions the new Chamber resolved, with eighty-eight votes against thirty-five, to institute an investigation on the influence of the clergy in the election. Eight priests who had been elected, have been excluded, and the ministry, in concert with the Radicals, seems to be inclined to confiscate the whole property of the Church, and to have the salaries of the priests paid by the State. In Rome, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, a cousin of the French emperor, after having received, some years

ago, the minor orders, has now been ordained a priest. The ultramontane party is probably right in cherishing the hope that this event will strengthen the influence of the Roman Church in European politics. The extraordinary favors conferred by the king of Naples on the clergy and religious corporations of his kingdom, have not yet satisfied the pope, who insists on the conclusion of a concordat. The negotiations with the other Italian courts, for the same purpose, have as yet had no effect; only Modena appears to be willing to make the demanded concessions.

The Protestant Churches.—According to a report published by the Table (highest ecclesiastical board) of the Waldenses, their congregation in Turin numbers at present two hundred and sixty-five members, all converts from the Roman Church, and sustains three schools, with one hundred and eight children. The congregation of Genoa has one hundred and eighty members, and a school frequented by thirty children. A newly-established mission at Favale already counts thirty-five members. The congregations at Asti, Alexandria, Voghera, Sampier d'Arena, Nice, Piquerol, and Courmayeur, are all hopefully progressing.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Church.—The Ministry appointed last October has already given way to another, which, like its two predecessors, courts the friendship of the Church, though it does not satisfy the ultramontane party, which considers the solution of the ecclesiastical question (that is, the restoration of the mediæval power of the Church) as being again postponed. Father Morguez, a Dominican friar, who has been long imprisoned for his opposition to the new dogma of the immaculate conception, has been released, and strenuously perseveres in his defense of ancient Catholicism against modern Popish innovations. In Portugal, where Rome has found its advocates hitherto almost only among the Legitimists, (party of Don Miguel,) a new central organ of the Catholic party has been founded, which, like the *Univers* of Paris, will work for the sovereignty of the pope alone.

Protestantism.—According to the *Spanish Evangelical Record*, a paper of Scotland, which is exclusively devoted to the evangelization of Spain, the progress of Protestantism is greater than, amid the present persecutions, would seem to be possible. The rigorous measures for the suppression of Protestantism, employed in many places at the suggestion of the Roman clergy, seem to be fruitless. In many places regular religious meetings of the converts to Protestantism have been organized. One agent reports to have made, during the first six months of 1857, for religious purposes, two hundred and sixty-one visits, and to have received, to the same end, three hundred and seventy-five. Two hundred and thirteen persons declared to him their readiness to join the Protestant Church. An officer of the army, who asked the agent for religious books, informed him that he knew more than six thousand persons who were willing to follow the Gospel as the only rule of their faith.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—Russian papers report that the Greek Church, hitherto but little successful in the conversion of the pagans and Mohammedans living in Russia, is now rapidly gaining ground among the tribes in Northern Asia. A greater energy than ever before is displayed in supporting the Greek Christians in Turkey, and no means are left untried to gain their sympathies and to attach them more closely to Russia.

The Roman Church.—A correspondence of the *Breslauer Zeitung* has made the round of the European press, according to which the Roman Church is on the point of losing nearly one million of souls, as the whole diocese of Chelm, of the Greek united rite, intends to renounce obedience to the pope, and to join the Russian State Church. The administrator of the diocese, and the higher clergy, are said to have been wholly gained over, the lower clergy to raise no serious objections, and the people to take no interest at all in the matter. The *Univers* contradicts, however, the whole report, whose inaccuracy, at all events, is established by the fact, that the whole kingdom of Poland contains no more than two hundred and seventeen thousand members of the Greek United Church.

Protestantism.—The attitude of the government with regard to the Protestant denominations is said to be liberal and satisfactory. At St. Petersburg a new Protestant paper, in the German language, has been started, with the first of January, under the title, "*St. Peterburger Evangelisches Wochenblatt*."

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—Acts of unbearable oppression on the part of Turkish magistrates, have provoked a new rebellion among the Christian tribes of European Turkey. The cause of religious toleration has, moreover, lost, by the death of Reshid Pascha, its most influential advocate. Nevertheless, the invasion of the doctrines and civilization of Christianity into the territory of Mohammedanism is uninterruptedly progressing, and many new cases have occurred of Mussulmans desiring instruction in the Gospel.

The Oriental Churches.—The Patriarch of Constantinople and his Council have at length been compelled to give up their opposition to that part of the Hatti-Sherif which aims at a reorganization of the Greek Church, and a protection of the people from arbitrary money extortions. In compliance with a demand of the Turkish government, the Patriarch and the chiefs of the nation have proposed (on January 1st) twenty names to the government, which will select among them ten, to constitute the National Council of the Greeks. At the same time it is believed that it will prove impossible to withstand much longer the demand of the Bulgarians and other Slavonian nations, to have only natives appointed as bishops, instead of Greeks sent to them from Constantinople. The Armenians have been aroused by the progress of the American missions in their midst, to a more energetic resistance; and an Armenian newspaper, published at Constantinople, takes great pains to excite prejudice against the Protestant name. The Jacobite and Nestorian Churches seem no longer to have sufficient vitality for such a resistance, and the mass of the clergy and the people seem only to hesitate whether they will prefer the evangelical or the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Church.—Another of the Greek bishops has submitted to the

pope, and a defeated candidate for a Nestorian bishopric has taken the same step in order to secure, with the aid of the Chaldean (Papal Nestorian) Patriarch and the Pasha of Mosul, at least one part of the Churches and property of the diocese. The number of Roman missionary priests and monks exceeds that of the Protestant missionaries; the consuls of France and Austria do more for the Roman Church than England and Prussia do for Protestantism, and by large presents many of the Turkish governors have been disposed in favor of the Roman missions. The mountain Nestorians are rapidly falling a prey to the aggressive Papists.

continues to be cultivated with the most encouraging success, and in every branch of the work, and in nearly every part of the field, there has been progress. But some anxiety was occasioned by the intention of Sdepan Agha, the civil head of the Turkish Protestants, to resign his place from want of support, and the powerful exertions of Rome urgently demand an increase of laborers. The appearance of the first two missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America in Bulgaria, was, therefore, hailed with great joy by all the representatives of American and European Protestantism, and the hope expressed that the Methodist Church would follow up with vigor this new mission.

Protestantism.—The missionary field

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, January, 1858.—1. The Inspiration of the Scriptures; Objections to it: 2. Notes on Scripture; Events that Followed the Lord's Resurrection: 3. Christ's Prophecy, Matt. xxiv, of the Destruction of Jerusalem and his Second Coming: 4. Dr. Park's Sermon on the Revelation of God in his Works: 5. Dr. Donaldson's Orthodoxy of Unbelief: 6. A Designation and Exposition of the figures of Isaiah xlii: 7. Notes on Scripture, Rev. xvi, 16.
- II. THE FREE-WILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1858.—1. The Great Objection to the Doctrine of Atonement—The Innocent Suffering for the Guilty: 2. The Smithsonian Institution: 3. Heaven: 4. The Transfiguration of Jesus: 5. Philosophy of the Will: 6. The Pulpit and Politics: 7. The Study of Religious Truth: 8. Marriage and Home: 9. Of an Itinerant Ministry.
- III. THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Revision Movement: 2. Conversion of the World: 3. Geological Speculation: 4. Edwards and the Theology of New-England: 5. Breckenridge's Theology.
- IV. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. The Public Economy of Athens: 2. The Profession of Schoolmaster: 3. Reformatory Institutions at Home and Abroad: 4. Venice: 5. Ireland, Past and Present: 6. Anatomical Architecture: 7. The Financial Crisis: 8. Jerusalem: 9. Cotemporary French Literature: 10. Lewes's History of Philosophy.
- V. UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Modern Civilization: 2. The Religion of Principle: 3. The Man of Principle in Politics: 4. The Huguenots: 5. The Protestant Reformation of the Fourteenth Century: 6. Ignatius Loyola.

- VI. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Christian Women of the First Three Centuries: 2. Practical View of the Sabbath: 3. The Devil and his Angels: 4. Religious Persecution in Virginia: 5. The Book of Job: 6. Unitarianism and its Tendencies: 7. Yahveh Christ.
- VII. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, March, 1858.—1. Unused Powers: 2. The Hindoos: 3. Strength and Weakness of the Popular Religion and of Liberal Christianity: 4. Buckle's History of Civilization: 5. Physical and Celestial Mechanics: 6. Review of Current Literature.
- VIII. THE MERCERBURGH REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. The Efficacy of Baptism: 2. Conservatism of Colleges: 3. Reformed Dogmatics: 4. Laying on of Hands: 5. The Lord's Supper: 6. Science for Domestic Purposes.
- IX. THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Tholuck on John: 2. Homiletic Studies: 3. Pastoral Visits to the Sick and Dying: 4. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 5. The Study of the Classics: 6. Ministerial Education: 7. Baccalaureate Address: 8. Man: 9. Discoveries in Biblical Chronology.
- X. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, February, 1858.—1. Is Protestantism responsible for Modern Unbelief? 2. Spurgeon and Extemporaneous Preaching: 3. The Israelites in Egypt: 4. The Mosaic Cosmogony: 5. The British in India: 6. California, its Characteristics and Prospects.
- XI. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte: 2. The Revolt of the Sepoys: 3. English Hymnology: 4. Ancient Manuscript Sermons: 5. Brownson's Exposition of Himself: 6. St. Hilaire on the Reformation in Spain.

THE first article is a brief but elegant line of argument in refutation of the Positive Generalization of Comte. The gist of that generalization is that the human mind historically develops itself through three stages, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. In the first stage man attributes phenomena to supernatural will; first, in the polytheistical age, to many wills; next, in the monotheistic age, to one Supreme Will, or God. In the second, the metaphysical stage, men, ignoring Will, attribute phenomena to causes or forces. The third, the positive stage, ignoring both will and cause, will only recognize phenomena operating in uniform ways, which science will classify into laws. In that era of highest human advancement all the misty illusions which human fancy has located back of phenomena, under the name of gods, powers, forces, causes, will be completely dissipated. An infallible atheism will dethrone them all, and leave nothing but things, events, and laws, of which science has only positively to pronounce, THEY ARE.

The Review shows, first, That it does so happen that Comte's entire range of historical observation, in tracing human development, is circumscribed within the limits of the nations who have lived under the teachings of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. It is thereby shown that his process is adulterated, circumscribed, and unsustained by the entire sum of human history. Second, It is plentifully shown that theology, science, and metaphysics are really co-existent; whether in themselves, in the individual mind, or in the ages. They imply neither succession nor contradiction; but are truly distinct, but parallel and cotemporaneous. Near the close, the article contains the following fine generalization for confining the three departments to their respective spheres:

"Theology may not safely invade such a question as the antiquity of the globe, since that is a legitimate problem of Positive science; and Positive science may not safely invade such a question as the regeneration of society, since that is a legitimate problem of theology; and neither may safely invade such questions as the modes or relations of matter and spirit, since those are legitimate problems of metaphysics. Only when they shall have together accomplished their respective missions will the world be in possession of one homogeneous body of truth."

XII. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Conversations of our Club: 2. England and Naples: 3. Common Schools: 4. The Church an Organism.

THE first article is written in a style of much freshness and freedom. The following extract illustrates its freedom with facts:

"The Protestant missionaries in the East, by their tracts and their schools, have had some influence in detaching individuals from their old beliefs and superstitions, but none in making them Christians. Their converts have lost their false religion without having embraced the true religion, and are the very worst people one meets in the East."

We are not prepared to say how true to history is the following extract:

"One of the ablest and most logical writers Protestantism has ever produced in this country, is Dr. J. W. Nevin, of the *Mercersburg Review*. Dr. Nevin several years ago became convinced that the Incarnation is a fact, and the central fact of Christianity, from which all that is distinctively Christian radiates. Believing this he began to detect a significance in the sacraments, and to regard them as the *media* of grace, or the means by which we are brought into living union with the life of the Word made flesh. Following out this with rare erudition and an invincible logic, he found himself forced, as is well known, to accept the Catholic theory, so to speak, of the Church. He found that if he must accept the Incarnation, he must accept what our Puseyite friends call the Sacramental System, and if he must accept the Sacramental System, he must accept the priesthood and the Church; and his masterly articles in the *Mercersburg Review* on *Primitive Christianity* and on *St. Cyprian* contain one of the ablest vindications of Catholicity that has ever been written in our country. It is true, he has not as yet entered the Church, that he still lingers on the threshold, being deterred from taking the final step by timidity, by old mental habits and associations, or perhaps by not finding Catholics in their practice coming up to what he, still no doubt affected by reminiscences of the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible grace, regards as the standard below which a Catholic, if his Church is true, can never fall. But however this may be, he is in his writings a brilliant proof of the fact that the Incarnation can have no practicable significance without the Church, and that he who accepts the one is logically bound to accept the other."

The following passage in his notice of Weston on Slavery, is commended to the notice of Methodists who would prohibit our Quarterly on the same subject from maintaining the Wesleyan doctrines:

"We can speak of this book as ably and temperately written; as full of valuable statistics and information, and decidedly the least offensive work we have seen from the anti-slavery side in our country. We hope our saying so much will not call forth another *avertissement* from our pro-slavery friends, and afford another illustration of the respect for freedom of thought and freedom of speech they entertain. If anything could make us turn abolitionist, it would be certain threatening letters which we have received from well-known and distinguished Catholic friends for venturing to express a plain doctrine of our religion, and a few plain and well-known maxims of law touching the question of slavery. But

it is impossible for us to be abolitionists, unless we lose our senses. All we ask of the slaveholding portion of our American population, is the opportunity of abiding by the Union, and defending to each section its constitutional rights, without necessarily committing ourselves for slavery or abolitionism. Yet we will tell our friends who have threatened us with the loss of subscribers unless we retract the opinions we have expressed, or at least keep silence on the question of slavery, that when we commenced this Review we made and recorded a resolution that it should honestly and faithfully express our convictions, and that not one word should ever be printed in its pages for the sake of gaining or of avoiding the loss of a subscriber. Those who do not like the Review are free to drop it; but it is useless for them to try by arguments addressed to our pockets, to force us into compliance with their wishes, when we do not happen to approve them. Subjects open to us as a Catholic and citizen to discuss, we shall discuss whenever, in our judgment, we can by so doing effect a good or avoid an evil; and we shall never, knowingly or willingly, be a party to any attempt to gag the press, where its freedom is lawful; and free discussion is allowed us by our religion, and guaranteed by the Constitution."

XIII. THE CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER, January, 1858.—1. Dr.

Pusey and the Church in the United States: 2. St. Peter never Bishop of Rome: 3. The Apostolic Ministry in the Apostolic Position: 4. English Church Work: 5. Pope Clement XI. and the Jansenists: 6. The Rock: 7. A Memorial.

THE first article of this valuable number contains a reply to certain charges made by Dr. Pusey against the Episcopalian Church in America. The points condemned by Dr. Pusey are, Ignoring the value of absolution, Lay Delegation, Omission of the Athanasian Creed, and Bracketing the Nicene. The first charge, of ignoring the value of Absolution, is answered, by maintaining that the American Church in disusing private absolution and in preferring the precatory form of the absolution instead of the declaratory form, follows the best example of the primitive Church. To the second charge, it is replied, that the English Church commenced her Protestant career upon the basis of Lay Delegation. At first, namely, all England was held as a single Church, in a single communion; in the government of which the Convocation and the Parliament were the joint clerical and lay legislative bodies. The gradual and successive "reforms" of Parliament, added to the secession of large bodies from the national Church, have changed this relation; nevertheless, lay delegation was the primitive order of things. The Athanasian Creed, in the next point of charge, being not so much a creed as a hymn, was properly omitted by the American Church; ample safeguards for the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation being still retained. Touching the Nicene Creed, its optional use is no indication of undervaluation; since no clergyman avails himself of the option to disuse it, and its authority is expressly acknowledged in the Eighth Article.

The Second Article is a concise but clear disproof of the pretended Roman Episcopate of St. Peter, which lies at the foundation of popery. The writer adduces every passage occurring in the Christian fathers of the first three centuries touching the connection of Peter with Rome, and shows that the thought of Peter's being bishop there never entered their minds. Irenæus expressly calls Linus the first bishop; reckoning Eleutherius as the twelfth, thereby explicitly excluding St. Peter.

The Third Article is one of those exhibitions of magnificent vacuity with which our showy Episcopalian friends compel us to preserve our decorum by

the exertion of great restraint upon our facial muscles. It is a grave discussion whether their episcopates shall spread over entire geographical surfaces on the map, so as to make titular bishops of, say, a whole state; or whether they shall be located in cities and radiate from their centers indefinitely. The former is what may be called the superficial, and the latter the focal method. The former spreads the layer of the Episcopate over the whole extent in equal thickness; the latter condenses it at a point, and shades off to the circumference. Shall Dr. Potter be Bishop of New-York State, fair and square; or shall he be Bishop of New-York City, and thence odoriferate the interior by Episcopal vaporization? It bears a strong resemblance to the Big Endian and Little Endian controversy among the theologians of Lilliput; and we should suppose the disputants to be doctors of about equal magnitude.

The Fifth Article, in regard to the Jansenists, shows that the High Predestinarians were as severely treated by the See of Rome, as the Arminians were by the Synod of Dort and the States of Holland. Jansenism was condemned by Clement XI., in the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus*. Among the one hundred and one propositions condemned in that bull, were the following:

10. Grace is the operation of God's omnipotent hand, which nothing can hinder or retard.

11. Grace is nothing but the will of the omnipotent God, commanding, and effecting what he commands.

5. Unless God softens the heart by the internal unction of his grace, exhortation and external favors only serve to render it more hard.

28. The first grace that God gives the sinner is remission of sins.

38. The sinner, without the grace of the Saviour, is not free, except to evil.

29. Out of the Church, no graces are conferred.

30. All whom God wills to save by Jesus Christ, are infallibly saved.

The Sixth Article maintains that the Rock on which Christ promises to build his Church is not Peter, but the confession of Christ as made by Peter. He argues this from the change of words from the masculine *Petros*, Πέτρος, to the feminine *Petra*, Πέτρα. Had he meant Peter, he would have said ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πετρῷ, and not ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ.

The book notices of this Review are generally, from its stand-point, manly and liberal. It concludes a notice of Hibbard on the Psalms, with the following words: "As a most important adjunct to the intelligent study of the Psalms, we know not where so much really valuable matter can be found in so small a compass."

XIV. THE PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, March, 1858.—1. Abelard: 2. Spiritual Discipline of the Jesuits: 3. Personal Reminiscences of Dr. Griffin: 4. Hymn Makers and Hymn Menders: 5. Dr. Barclay's City of the Great King: 6. Tennyson.

THIS Quarterly organ of the New School Presbyterians is edited by Benj. J. Wallace, with Albert Barnes, Thomas Brainerd, John Jenkins, Joel Parker, for associate editors, and the professors in the New-York Union, Auburn, and Lane Theological Seminaries as assistants. Of course we need not say there is plenty of ability in its official corps.

The present is one of its best numbers. The article on Abelard is written with masterly scholarship and ability. It is, perhaps, the best brief historical view of that celebrated man in the English language. The article on Tennyson is critical and eloquent. The writer places Tennyson at the head of all the living English poets; a eulogy not as lofty as it would have been, "in our hot youth, when George the Fourth was king." The passages adduced in proof are certainly among the finest in our language; some of them might, indeed, be quoted as specimens of the power of our English to express beautiful thought.

To the article on Dr. Griffin alone is the author's name, contrary to the ordinary rule of the Review, prefixed. It is one which least needed the information; for it presents sentences of compromise between Latin and English, which nobody in the world produces but Dr. Cox. What is specially odd, the most artificial specimen of Latin-English in the whole article, is given as being uttered by Dr. Griffin himself in conversation. Thus Griffin loquitur: "How much duplicity or bifarious character was there, think you, in the Apostle Paul? So much bilingual, that is prudential pseudology, and no more, I advise you to habituate, both in private and in public, all the way to fifty or ninety of your life."

The excellent article on "Hymn Makers and Hymn Menders" does a liberal justice to Charles Wesley as a poet:

"We regard it as a great loss to the Presbyterian Churches of our country, that so few, comparatively, of Charles Wesley's hymns should have been admitted into their collections. It may not be generally known that, not even excepting Dr. Watts, he is the most voluminous of all our lyrical authors, and it were only justice to add, that he is the most equal."

"The merits of Charles Wesley, as a writer of objective hymns, have been overlooked. We have never read or sung a finer specimen than his well-known paraphrase of the 24th Psalm,

"'Our Lord is risen from the dead,' etc.

Step by step we are led from the sepulcher of Jesus to the throne of his mediatorial exaltation. We see him rising from the grave, like a successful warrior, mounting his chariot, leading captive the foes of his people, dragging them in triumph to the very gates of heaven. We see the angels as they attend their Lord, and we hear them demanding his admission to his own original dwelling-place, the heaven of God."

"There is another objective hymn by Charles Wesley, which is among the finest in the language. We wonder that it has not found its way into American hymn books. Our readers will thank us for transcribing it:

"'Stand the Omnipotent decree;
Jehovah's will be done,' etc.

"Here is a flight which few have ever reached. Well has this hymn been spoken of as being 'in a strain more than human.' James Montgomery, no mean judge, says, 'It begins with a note abrupt and awakening, like the sound of the last trumpet;' and adds, 'This is altogether one of the most daring and victorious flights of our author.' We are glad to find it unabridged in the 'Plymouth Collection;' but for what reason the last line but one of the hymn has been changed to

"'Soon our soul and form shall join,'

we fail to discover. The change from 'dust' to 'form' renders the line obscure."

"It must ever be regarded as a mark of great carelessness in our American compilers, that so many first-class lyrics should have been omitted from our col-

lections, while second and third-rate hymns abound. We could supply fifty superior hymns from various authors, which are almost wholly neglected in our own and kindred denominations. There is the noble hymn by Charles Wesley, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, concerning which Dr. Watts did not scruple to say that it was 'worth all the verses he himself had written.' James Montgomery declares it to be among the poet's highest achievements. 'With consummate art,' says he, 'he has carried on the action of a lyrical drama. Every turn in the conflict with the mysterious being against whom he wrestles all night, being marked with precision by the varying language of the speaker, accompanied by intensely increasing interest till the rapturous moment of the discovery, when he prevails and exclaims: 'I know thee, Saviour, who thou art!' We transcribe the poem, without fear of tiring the patience of our readers with quotations:

* "Come, O thou traveler unknown," etc.

"Never have we read a firmer combination of poetic taste and evangelical sentiment."

We may remark, that noble as is the justice here done to Charles Wesley, the instinct of our people has unknowingly preferred the master-pieces of Watts. The hymns

"Come, O thou traveler unknown,"

and

"Stand the Omnipotent decree,"

are never sung as favorites among us. On the other hand, none go ahead of the following of Watts:

"Alas, and did my Saviour bleed,"

"When I can read my title clear,"

"On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,"

"Salvation, O the joyful sound,"

"Come ye that love the Lord."

It will be seen that the trains of emotion expressed in these unsurpassed favorites, though selected with no purpose of such illustration, are two: *pathos* in reference to the sufferings of the Redeemer, and *joy*, in view of the Christian's triumph. Sublime and terrible hymns are seldom the popular choice. This is especially the case with that bold lyric

"Stand the Omnipotent decree,"

and little less so with

"Before Jehovah's awful throne."

The hymn

"Come, O thou traveler unknown,"

is, in our estimate, as in that of this critic, about unsurpassed in hymnology, But its beauties lie slightly below the surface; a surface whose transparency heightens the attractions to the cultivated eye, but conceals them from the popular.

XV. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, January, 1858.—

1. Dr. Arnold's Theological Opinions: 2. Lee on Inspiration: 3. Baptism, a Consecratory Rite: 4. Eusebius as an Historian: 5. An Historical Sketch of the Indo-European Languages: 6. Comparison of Jeremiah xxiii, 5, 6, and xxxiii 14-16: 7. Dr. Griffin's Theory of the Atonement: 8. The Public Economy of the Athenians: 9. Smith's Dictionary of Geography, Symrna.

THE article on Dr. Griffin's Theory of Atonement, is drawn up by Professor Park, with no little clearness and skill, apparently for some understood but unexpressed design. It is an interesting document. We hesitate, nevertheless, to reproduce it, even in the most condensed form, from the fear that so extensive, among our own ministry and people, is the impression that all thought and discussion on these topics are obsolete, that the few paragraphs which in several of our numbers have appeared on this topic, may seem like attempts at reanimating a lifeless question. Our impression is, that it is only the sons of peace among ourselves who have stacked arms.

Dr. Griffin was an able opponent of that high Calvinian and Antinomian view of the Atonement, which made Christ a literal sinner, suffering the identical penalty of human guilt, thereby securing the necessary justification and full salvation of all for whom he died. This Antinomianism became Universalism with those who held that he died for all; and required the doctrine of partial atonement in order to consistent Calvinism. It then became, indeed, *consistent Calvinism*.

Dr. Griffin held that the atonement was not a literal suffering of the penalty; nor a literal satisfaction of the distributive justice of God; nor a literal removal of our desert of eternal death; nor a literal surplusage of Christ's meritorious personal obedience becoming our imputed obedience. On the other hand, the atonement was a Divine method by which the literal suffering of the penalty might be dispensed with; by which government could be sustained and honored without inflicting distributive justice; by which the *acceptors* of the work might be saved without the removal of their intrinsic desert of hell; and all this without imputing Christ's personal obedience as our personal obedience; but by Christ obtaining a meritorious right to save us, as his own exceeding great reward from God. Hereby Dr. Griffin does reconcile the atonement very fairly with our common sense, evade high Antinomianism, and reject a partial atonement. These errors Dr. Griffin cast out; only to bring them in again, however, under cover of the predestinarian axiom, "God foreordains whatever comes to pass."

Man, even unregenerate, reprobate man, according to Dr. Griffin, has full *natural ability* to accept the atonement, repent of sin, grow, not in grace, but in goodness, and be saved. Independently of the Spirit of God, he can convert himself, sanctify himself, and save himself. Herein Dr. Griffin contradicts our article, that "the condition of man after the fall is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God." Whether Dr. Griffin held that even without an atonement, the nature of man is such, that he can keep the Divine law, and so (without salvation) attain a merited eternal life, we do not find expressly stated; but we *infer* that he so held, from several incidental expressions. Unless he held this, indeed, his so called *natural ability*, was, after all, not natural ability, but *gracious ability*. It belonged not to natural unredeemed man; but was a superadded gift of atoning grace. On this whole area, therefore, Dr. Griffin was truly semi-Pelagian. He was further from Calvin than are the articles of our own Church. To all this length Dr. Griffin went, to find a foundation upon which to elaborate a structure of human responsibility, and a just Divine

government; and after so elaborating, he promptly turns round, we think, and prostrates the whole at a blow, with the relentless hammer of absolute predestination.

Dr. Griffin evaded the complete Pelagianism of natural ability, by affirming that such natural ability would, in point of fact, never be put forth, by any of the human race. The influence of the Holy Spirit therefore is necessary to salvation. Necessary not to the sinner, for he can save himself without it; but necessary to God, in order that he may have somebody to save. Dr. Griffin was therefore only semi-Pelagian; affirming with Pelagius the full natural power of the man, by his own works, to attain heaven; denying, with both Calvin and Arminius, that any man ever will be saved by his own unaided effort. How far Dr. Griffin's natural ability was nullified by necessitarianism, (which annihilates all power of diverse choice,) we stop not now to inquire. Our only remark will be touching its nullification by predestination.

That Dr. Griffin believed in predestination, does not appear from any works of his own. On the contrary, he defends his Theodice on the ground of *foreknowledge*. It is, therefore, an Arminian Theodice only, that he defends. And he defends Divine justice, even with foreknowledge, on the proviso that God deals with man "as if" there were even no foreknowledge. This maxim Dr. Griffin holds as an ultimate key for the solution of difficulties:

"The only part of a moral government which discovers prescience, is prophecy. All the other parts are framed together with the same consistency of relation as if there was no foreknowledge. Break up this principle, and plant the eye of prescience visible in every part of a moral government, and you turn the whole into confusion; the entreaties of God to the non-elect would appear like mockery, and many of his declarations false. God proceeds in his treatment of moral agents as though it was perfectly uncertain how they will act till they are tried. The reason is that the capacity and obligations on which the treatment is founded, are in no degree affected by foreknowledge. This neither weakens an obligation, nor helps to create one which would not otherwise exist."

This mode of defense, it is obvious, serves only for foreknowledge, and not for foredetermination: It defends Arminianism, (in no very effective way,) but leaves Calvinism still unshielded from the objector's shafts. That Dr. Griffin held to predestination at all, we believe, not on any authority of his words produced, but on the affirmation of friends who speak for him. Dr. Park so affirms; and we affirm that if he held the predestination of Calvin, and the necessity of Edwards, he twice distinctly annihilated the "natural ability" he so elaborately created.

II.—Foreign Reviews.

- I. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1853.—1. Prospects of the Indian Empire: 2. Milman's History of Latin Christianity: 3. Scottish University Reform: 4. The Angel in the House: 5. The Addington and Pitt Administrations: 6. Tom Brown's School Days: 7. Abbé Le Dieu's Memoirs of Bossuet: 8. The Hawkers' Literature of France; 9. Lord Overstone on Metallic and Paper Currency.

- II. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE, January, 1858.—1. The Eucharistic Controversy: 2. Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men: 3. *Analecta Nicæna*: 4. *Paramésvara-jnyána-gôshthi*, Christianity and Hinduism: 5. Livingstone's Missionary Travels: 6. English Churchmen in the United States: 7. The Theology of Macarius: 8. Raikes's Journal: 9. Keble on Eucharistical Adoration.
- III. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE, January, 1858.—1. God's Providential and Moral Government: 2. Dr. Davidson on Early Corruptions of the Text of the New Testament: 3. Three Months in the Holy Land: 4. Pantheism, its Historical Phases: 5. Deuteronomy, as the Production of Moses: 6. John the Baptist, his Mission and Character: 7. Egyptian Dynasties, No. III: 8. The Book of Tobit: 9. Correspondence.
- IV. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Researches in Palestine: 2. The Philosophy of Theism: 3. Modern Sculpture: 4. Modern Anglican Theology: 5. The East and the West: 6. Tom Brown's School Days: 7. Our Shilling Literature: 8. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.
- V. THE LONDON (Wesleyan) QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. The Waldenses: 2. Homer and his Translators, Chapman and Newman: 3. Memorials of Andrew Crosse: 4. Religion in Germany, its History and Present State: 5. Dr. Livingstone's Researches in South Africa: 6. The Dwellings of the Poor: 7. Our Lord's Passion, Krummacher and Stier: 8. George Stephenson, Railway Engineer: 9. Crisis of the Sepoy Rebellion.
- VI. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Principles of Indian Government: 2. George Sand: 3. Colonel Mure and the Attic Historians: 4. Hashish: 5. Ben Jonson: 6. The Czar Nicholas: 7. The World of Mind, by Isaac Taylor: 8. Mr. Coventry Patmore's Poems: 9. Civilization and Faith: 10. The Monetary Crisis.
- VII. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. Difficulties of Railway Engineering: 2. The Historic Peerage of England: 3. Tobias Smollett: 4. Wiltshire: 5. Church Extension: 6. Sense of Pain in Man and Animals: 7. Woolwich Arsenal and its Manufacturing Establishments: 8. The Future Management of our Indian Empire.
- VIII. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, February, 1858.—1. Lord Mahon's England, Walpole and Pulteney: 2. Naples, 1848-1858: 3. Scottish Natural Science, Dr. Fleming: 4. Mill's Logic of Induction: 5. Arnold and his School: 6. Proverbs Secular and Sacred: 7. Quatrefages' Rambles of a Naturalist: 8. Capital and Currency: 9. Poetry, The Spasmodists.
- IX. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. John Gower and his Works: 2. Thorndale, The Conflict of Modern Thought: 3. Meteoric Stones and Comets: 4. De Foe: 5. Dr. Livingstone's African Researches: 6. Projected Communications with the East: 7. Freytag's Debit and Credit, German Life: 8. The Bank Acts, and the Credit Crisis of 1857: 9. Greyson's Letters, Claims of the Doubter: 10. India as it is, India as it may be.

THE Sixth Article presents a very interesting view of the methods of opening the channels of intercourse between Christendom and the great East. Asia, the scene of a wonderful past, is awakening to the prospect of a wonderful future. Crusades of a new order are arising in this latter day; crusades rolling Europe upon Asia in a less rapid inundation, but with surer triumph and more stupendous results. We will present to our readers the most important points of the article.

Three modes are before the British public, of connecting England by a short cut with Asia. The *FIRST* of these is a proposed continuance of the Austrian railroad, (which now terminates near Constantinople,) through Trebizonde, Teheran, Herat, to Cabul. This route is dismissed from the discussion, as being expensive, subject to many transshipments, and under the control of foreign powers.

The *SECOND* route is by a proposed railway from Seleucia, the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea, proceeding through the Euphrates Valley, along the banks of that ancient river, to Bussorah. This scheme requires but eight hundred miles of railway. Passing mostly through a river vale, it presents few physical difficulties. Its cost will be but some six or seven million pounds. A small effective force, together with the authority of the Sultan, would secure the peaceful concurrence of the native tribes. The Euphrates is, at the same time, navigable for steamboats, even to the point of contact with the railroad from Seleucia. Even without the railroad by the river bank, the railroad from the sea to the river, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles, may be completed at trifling cost, involving but one transshipment.

The *THIRD* scheme is a canal connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, across Suez, terminating, not at Cairo, but at Pelusium, the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. This is the great short cut from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and the vast Asiatic Seas. It will save twelve thousand miles of the route around the Cape to India. It changes the face of the commercial world. The soil of this route is favorable. The proposed width is three hundred and twenty-eight feet, with a minimum depth of twenty-six feet three inches; sufficient for the largest clippers that now double the Cape for India, and for the largest line-of-battle ships. But a small toll upon the immense commerce passing through, would sustain the annual expense; and with that drawback it can be offered as the great marine highway for the commercial nations. Both these latter two plans the reviewer ably advocates, as worthy an immediate execution.

But a politician asks, May not the marine powers bordering upon the Mediterranean, in time so master England upon that sea as to take possession of her work, and thereby snatch India from her hand? It was the victory of Nelson at the Nile, which defeated Napoleon in this very project of wresting India from Britain, by this very route. The reviewer's reply is, that England will, before that possible time, beyond all doubt, have established a great Indian marine as well as a European. This double fleet, acting in concert, would, it may be safely believed, overpower any naval force likely to be arrayed against it. Besides, England has no option. If she declines, other powers will soon forestall her path and gain the prize without a contest.

While European enterprise is thus projecting her grand thoroughfares to the East, it is of incalculable consequence that our America should be sending her iron rails through the great West. How much more wisely might our government and our Southern friends drop the project of extending westward the chains of bondage, and take up the enterprise of sending the chain of the surveyor, to pioneer the track of commerce and the sway of freedom. The pro-slavery agitation is as small-minded as it is wicked. It ignores the great

good that lies before us, as a free united people, seeking no sectional or class predominances; and enters into an unwise strife, pushed to the verge of treason, in behalf of human debasement as a basis for a narrow geographical and oligarchical supremacy. Let us hope that the intensity of this aberration is a symptom of its brevity. Like the Indian revolt, it will in due time give way; and imagination can hardly portray the grandeur of our westward march as a great UNION, until our noble states shall stand, hand in hand, smiling upon the shore of the beckoning Pacific.

X. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1858.—1. African Life: 2. Spirits and Spirit Rapping: 3. Morayshire: 4. Shelley: 5. The Religious Weakness of Protestantism: 6. The Crisis and its Causes: 7. The English in India: 8. State Tamperings with Money and Banks.

THE article on The Religious Weakness of Protestantism is remarkable. The Westminster's irreligion has usually a subdued scholarly vail of *critique* and scientific candor, by which it seeks to appear the resistless result of rigid *à priori* principles. But in this piece the unmitigated Thomas Paineism unmasks its impious death's head.

While Protestantism is extending its gradual area by civic conquest over our hemisphere, recovering its lost theological grounds in central Europe, and preparing by increasing missionary energy, sustained by the predominating forces of Protestant civilization, to spread her principles over the Asiatic and African, as well as the European and American continents, this periodical has been for more than twenty years auspicing the decay of Protestantism, with a sonorous persistence unsurpassed since the days of the Aristophanic bull-frogs.

BA. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοῦξ κοῦξ.
ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἐξόλοισθ' αὐτῷ κοῦξ.
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλ' ἢ κοῦξ.^ο

Of his inauspicious prophecies of the downfall of Protestantism, the wish is the inspiration. But his croak will turn to a death-rattle, ages before the accomplishment of its omens. Protestant Christianity has in no age possessed such strength, with the elements of still increasing strength, both intensive and

° We here add the very spirited substitute rather than translation, by Mitchell, of the imprecation upon the Attic frogs:

Now fires light on thee, and waters soak;
And March winds catch thee without any cloak,
For within and without,
From the tail to the snout,
Thou'rt nothing forever but croak, croak, croak!

For all the unfortunates whose precincts are sadly infested by any of the genus croaker, we furnish the following supplication, from the same author, to be learned for quotation upon the proper occasion:

My dear little bull-frog, do, prithee, be still,
'Tis a sorry vocation, that reiteration,
(I speak on my honor, most musical nation,
Of croak, croak, croak!

extensive, as at the present hour. It is stronger in its battle with Romanism; stronger in its battle with infidelity; stronger in its battle with heathendom, than at any former period of its history.

If we look to our own country, the proportion of infidelity to Christianity at the period of our Revolution, when even Yale College had almost repudiated Christianity, was immeasurably greater than now. No great Christian organisms, auxiliary to our Churches, then existed; and infidelity was triumphant over a lifeless Church. Passing down to the period of our own recollection, since the time that Frances Wright unfolded her splendors in New-York, and was able to win so brilliant a satellite within her attractions as Orestes A. Brownson, infidelity, open and self-announced, has made no respectable demonstration. It has not a single university. It has not a single periodical that commands public deference. It has no commanding center of publication. It has no organization that faces the light of day. Theodore Parker alone, under guise of the Christian profession, assuming the ministerial name, and entering a professedly Christian pulpit, has, indeed, by force of rare personal talent, and by the prominent assertion of high moral aim, been able for a while to trumpet forth a modified anti-Christianity. He has for a while palmed an *irreligion* upon our public, by christening it *religion*, even an absolute religion. But a resistless wane is coming over the disk of even this luminary. It is impossible for blank naturalism, with all the aid of the popular topics of the day, to hold its listening congregations through the successive weeks of long years. Or if Theodore Parker can do this during his natural life, let him send forth his apostles and see whether, with the best average talent a ministry can command, naturalism could compete with the poorest Christian denomination in our American republic. And as to the philosophical socialists, who would found a society upon irreligion, we submit to them the following problem. Upon their profoundest theories the experiment has been tried some dozen times, under the ablest masters, under the fairest conditions, upon the free soil of our own virgin continent, and of all their labors not a shred remains, not a fragment of broken architecture to memorialize its beauty or its order. On the other hand, an ignorant and aged female, called Mother Ann Lee, founded, upon a *religious* basis, a small social system, amid a hostile community, under the severest conditions possible for human flesh and blood, with no philosophical theory, and excluding the possibility of self-perpetuation by natural posterity. Yet that system blooms in the freshness of its original creation.

XI. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1858. — 1. Professor Baden Powell on the Study of the Evidences of Natural Theology: 2. Revision of the English Bible: 3. Miracles: 4. Pharmakides and the Ecclesiastical Independence of Greece: 5. Final Destruction of the Earth by Fire: 6. Kingsley's Two Years Ago: 7. The Holy Land: 8. Old Orthodoxy, New Divinity, and Unitarianism: 9. Sir William Hamilton on Philosophical Necessity, and the Westminster Confession.

This elegant Quarterly seems to present to our American review writers, a medium for presenting their thoughts to the British Christian public. Of the present number, Articles 1, 2, and 9, are original, and very able. Of the remainder, No. 3 is from the Southern Presbyterian, No. 6 from the New-England-

er, No. 7 from the Christian Examiner, No. 8 from the Princeton Review, and Nos. 4 and 5 are from the Methodist Quarterly Review. Our own Review alone furnishes two articles; one by Mr. Baird of Princeton, and the other by Professor Cobleigh.

The ninth article discusses Sir William Hamilton's views upon philosophical necessity and Calvinism; with much ability and erudition so far as the point of Calvinism is involved; with great bitterness so far as Sir William Hamilton or any other opponent is concerned, and with marked failure whenever the psychological doctrine of free-will is discussed.

So many and so monotonously reiterated charges of blundering, ignorance, and wickedness, upon one who has so lately gone beyond the arena of self-defense, the sod upon whose grave is yet so fresh, are very unnecessary. From the comfortable distance at which we stand from those venerable documents, the standards of the Scottish Church, we should have been prone to assume *a priori* that predestination and necessitarianism would stand as the Jachin and Boaz of the structure of their well-defined fatalism. Yet there are expressions which occur in these documents, which on the surface seem to justify Hamilton and Stewart in saying that they repudiate the doctrine of necessity, and affirm the principles of free-will and contingency of secondary causations. It is the purpose of the present writer, which he seems to accomplish with complete success, to show, historically, that beneath the surface, there is a meaning in those documents which is consistent with necessitarianism, and affirmative of fatalism. In all ages of its existence, theological fatalism seems to construct its nomenclature on the theory of Talleyrand, that "words are made to conceal our meaning."

The Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland says: "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to pass. Yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creature, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established."

Said Confession further saith: "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil."

At start, we may remark on the first of these extracts, that to affirm that God is the preordainer of sin, and yet not the author of sin, is as good as to affirm that a figure is square without right lines or right angles. It is saying that the subject, God, is and is not the same thing. A horse is black; yet so that he is no way sable, or dark colored, or otherwise than white. The reviewer assures us that "the Church of England writers of the last century, who belonged to the school of Whitby, Jortin, Tomline, and Mant," were "the most incompetent bodies of persons that ever undertook to discuss theological questions." We beg to be permitted to join this body of *incompetents*—incompetent to the task of affirming the primal contradiction of Genevan predestination.

Our main purpose, however, in regard to the above passages from the Confession, is to lay before our readers their *sub-sense* of fatalism, as shown by this

author, overlaid with the verbiage of freedom and contingency. When the confession denies that "*violence* is offered to the will of the creature," it does not mean to deny that the creature's volition, in a given case, is decreed, fixed, and absolutely limited to be one sole certain way, with an impossibility of being any other way. It only means that such fixing or limiting that one way, annihilating all alterity, is not *violence*. It is in accordance with the laws and nature of will; by which indeed it is alone possible that said sole volition should go forth. And when it is denied that "the liberty of second causes is taken away," it means that the liberty of choosing solely as it does and must choose—Hobson's choice—is not taken away. Just so a mathematical square is free; it has the liberty to possess four equal sides and four right angles. It has the liberty to be a square, to possess all the properties of quadrature, to retain them unchangeable so long as it is a square. And when the Confession denies that "the contingency of second causes is taken away," it means that whereas some causes are in their own nature, in some sense, contingent, so God, in fore-ordaining everything, *foreordains them to be contingent*. In what sense a thing pre-ordained and FIXED can be *contingent*, the Confession does not say, nor does our author explain. So far as we can see, just as the Confession's *liberty* is a *liberty* limited to a sole and singular act and course, so its *contingence* is a *fixed* contingency, a contradiction, a nothing in the world.

Take next the second of the above extracts from the Confession. The contrast between the super-stratum of words and the underlying sub-sense is still more striking. One would suppose (with so great a master of thought and language as Sir William Hamilton) that there was a denial of the doctrine of philosophical volitional necessity in the words, "nor by any absolute necessity of nature." Our author completely fails in showing that this is not the sole possible force of the *language*. He only succeeds in showing historically, that the author, in words of that sole force, meant to cover another meaning. Under phrase of *freedom*, they intended to wrap *thought* of bondage. The words conceal the meaning. So far, indeed, do they carry this strange *double entendre*, that they appropriate the words to a meaning which they absolutely refuse to express. There is a necessity to use other words to impart to them a meaning they can never accept.

The whole quibble consists in this. The Scotch doctors verbally oppose to each other the two terms *necessity of nature* and *choice*, as being in themselves antithetic. Necessity of nature appears in mere inanimate causes and causation; choice appears in living agents. The absence of the *necessity of nature* in the latter case, consists purely and simply in its being *choice*. Necessity of nature, in an event, is the absence of choice; choice is the absence of necessity of nature. So when they deny a necessity of nature they mean nothing in the world more than that the event is a choice and nothing but a choice, whatever choice may be. But this is not denying, so argues our reviewer, that in the very nature of choice the philosophical necessity of Edwards is a constituent.

A distinction, Mr. Reviewer, without a difference. The most lifeless causation conceivable, has no greater "necessity of nature" than this, that the antecedent in the given case be limited to one sole possible consequent. Philoso-

phical necessity affirms this of *will* or *choice*, and so contradicts the language of the Confession in any of its possible meanings. The difference lies not in the necessity, but in the subject of the necessity. The two subjects are dead causation and choice; the natural necessity is in both cases the same.

The reviewer uses language to imply that necessitarians hold to a freedom of the will, though a freedom of the will different from that maintained by "libertarians." But when we come to see the definition of the necessitarian freedom of the will, it proves itself a non-existence and leaves necessitarians deniers of all freedom of will. It is uniformly *the liberty of doing as we will*. But this is liberty of *doing*, not of *willing*. It is located out of the will. It is not a property of the will, but of something else, namely, a something which is not the will, but which acts according to the will. A liberty of the will which does not belong to the will, and is not a property of the will, is a contradiction.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

(1.) "*The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, by GEORGE SMITH, F. A. S." (8vo., pp. 319. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) The design of Mr. Smith's able work is to trace, through the successive dispensations of God to man, the Scripture representations of the great work of redemption by the incarnation and atonement of the promised Redeemer. Commencing with the fall, these representations in symbolic form, or their reality in living form, stand at the center of Patriarchism, Mosaicism, and Christianity.

The fall in Paradise was forthwith followed by the tokens of redemption. The promise of the "woman's seed" was God's prophecy of redemption to Adam. Adam's naming the woman Eve, or Life, was Adam's prophecy of redemption in the ear of the woman. Eve's exclamation, "I have gotten a man, even a Jehovah," was the woman's profession of faith that Jehovah was to become incarnate. The very expulsion from the garden was followed by a planting of the cherubim at its margin, not merely to exclude man from the entrance, but to open an access to him whose dwelling is "between the cherubim."

Between these cherubim, as Mr. Smith traces the occult line of history, God dwelt, not momentarily, but through the whole period, and was approachable by the Church of the Patriarchal Ages. Those cherubim were not angels, as is often dreamed; but attendant symbols of the Divine presence. When Israel went down to Egypt, he carried the mediatorial cherubim thither in his habitation; and when Moses set up the tabernacle, he transferred (not originated) the cherubim to that abode.

These Edenic symbols, traditionally retained among the fallen nations, have been found among the remains of their antiquity, as developed by modern re-

search. The resemblance of the Mosaic tabernacle apparatus to many symbolic objects of the Egyptian system, and still further to many of the archaeological objects exhumed by Layard in Assyria, has been an object of much Christian speculation and much infidel cavil. Some have said that Moses appropriated from Egypt; others that Egypt appropriated from Moses. Mr. Smith clearly establishes the true ground, that *both were derivations from the*

common primitive source, of which Genesis alone furnishes the only historic origin extant. What a wonderful volume is this old Hebraic record!

The following figures illustrate this point. The first group 1, 2, 3, furnishes images of the goddess Themis, or Truth, on the Egyptian monuments, exhibiting indubitable marks of identity with the Scripture cherubim. The second group 4, 5, presents the Hebrew ark and cherubim beside a similar Egyptian representation. The sacred ark is, in all probability, an emblem handed down from the covenant of the flood.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

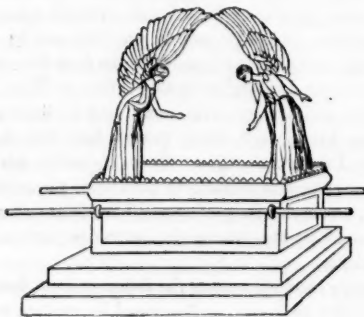


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

The tabernacle of David presented the same cherubic mode of access to God, intermediately between the Mosaic apparatus and the Temple of Solomon. Through the prophets Mr. Smith traces the central representations of the incarnation and atonement until the advent of their reality. Thence the development is traced until in the Apocalypse it terminates in the grand consummation of Paradise restored.

Mr. Smith's work presents several dissertations on points of no ordinary interest and importance. Besides his illustrations of the Edenic Cherubic Tabernacle, his development of the particulars and import of the Mosaic ritual is remarkably clear. His dissertation on the tabernacle will attract special attention. His discussions of the Son of God in the Fiery Furnace, and of Paradise, bring together many novel and valuable illustrations. The whole possesses a unity which suggests that all the parts should be comprehended together to feel the proper impression.

Mr. Smith makes no display of his own philological lore, and depends very much on the authority of critics, respected in English theology, but less frequently than formerly quoted at the present time. Of the various possible meanings of a text, he does not hesitate to prefer that which is favorable to his own hypothesis. Yet the most questionable, and as some would say, the most antiquated of his expositions are sustained by so late an authority as the valuable Old Testament Commentaries of Professor Bush. His volume is in some degree indebted to Faber, a writer who, out of his Cabiric and some part of his Apocalyptic studies, is well worthy of reproduction. It is equally free from anything like the older whimsies of the learned but dreamy Jacob Bryant, and from the more dangerous neologies of the latest German importation. We confess an unchanged preference for the sound old English masters in theology.

(2) "*The Testimony of the Rocks ; or, Geology in its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed*, by HUGH MILLER. With Memorials of the Death and Character of the Author." (12mo, pp. 502. Boston : Gould & Lincoln ; New-York : Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) The marvelous mason of Cromarty ! That he should be led by his own manual craft to investigate the deep and massy masonwork of the almighty Architect who laid the earth's foundations, is not wonderful ; but wonderful indeed are the profundity, the originality of those investigations, the new and illustrative applications, and the strain of trumpet-like eloquence with which, from beginning to end, he has given them utterance. What richness of imagination ; what felicity of analogy ; what purity, accuracy, brilliancy of style !

The "Testimony of the Rocks" has not a very perfect unity of subject ; yet is there that general symmetry that redeems it from incongruity. We have first the history, deduced through geological ages of plants and animals. Then comes a confronting, face to face, of the two records, on the page of the rock and the page of the book. So far as geology is concerned, he finds a synchronism, if both records be allowed to describe an epochal and mundane day. Then comes the felicitous theory of the "Mosaic Vision of the Creation ;" in which the historical seer is imagined as describing the *unseen past*, by the

same conceptual power as other prophets describe the *future*, pictorially exhibited by Divine power to the eye of soul. The Noachian Deluge is then denied, with an extraordinary force of scientific argument, to be universal as to the globe; while the force of the Biblical words is argued to be amply filled out, by supposing the catastrophe universal *as to the race*. Some grand lessons are then administered to the anti-geologists; and the volume concludes with a lecture on the fossil flora of Scotland.

There are some golden passages in the Testimony. There is indeed many a passage of intense eloquence that stimulates and forces us to spring from our study-chair. But more than this, there are passages at which you sit in pure transparent tranquillity, as you see that the world of mind is moving a thought forward; the hand on the great dial-plate has advanced, a clear hair-breadth! Let us note some points:

1. On the canvas of the everlasting rock is impressed, as on the pages of a botanist's herbarium, the complete pictorial history of the vegetable and animal creation, through all past ages, of perhaps some fifty million years. And in the beautiful coincidence between the human classifications of science and the Divine classifications of the Creator, Hugh Miller develops a proof of the resemblance between the infinite and the finite mind; of the creation of man in the intellectual image of God, and the personality of the Divine Being.

2. As geology can trace, with clear distinctness, the commencement and termination of each race, she is able to negate the hypothesis, either that one race runs into or blends with another, or that the higher orders and the highest order, man, are developed by imperceptible gradations from a lower order. Races do indeed rise in successive classifications above each other; but at due intervals between each class; and with diverse qualities, which distance them as independent orders and even separate creations.

Each race, and man's especially of all, starts up in the proper completeness of its being; allowing no other fair solution of its commencement than an immediate planning creative power—*miracle*! The accounting for man's existence by an infinite series of minute causations is thus exploded.

3. Hume argued that as creation was a singular and sole fact, without its like or analogy, so God was unable, so far as we can see, to produce any other than this same form of creation; and variation from it by miracle is inadmissible. Miller argues that creation is not singular; but many times repeated, with ascending variations. At each step, a Hume might have argued that no other ascent was possible, only to be contradicted at the next step. The very fact that Omnipotence has repeated its acts, in ever-varying forms, proves by analogy, that it is still able to proceed in ever-varying forms of omnipotent action.

4. It is a wonderful fact, developed by geology, combined with comparative anatomy, that all the forms of animal existence find the perfected completion of their type in man. Their whole system through ages converges individually and collectively, like a vast pyramid, in him as its apex. Termination in man is the tendency in which they all advance. Hence man is the being of which all the past animal system was a prophecy. Herein we have a striking instance of the determinate purpose and foreknowledge of God.

5. Of the unity of the human race, that is, of its origin from a single center, Hugh Miller recognizes an existent doubt on our side of the Atlantic. He has his solution of the varieties. In the Caucasian center, the race still exists in its type of primitive physical perfection. Whenever it departs from that locality, and loses its self-cultivation, a rapid degeneration ensues, tending to destruction. Especially before the face of a superior race does a depreciated tribe, in spite of missionary efforts, persistently melt away. Under the influence of high training, physical, intellectual, and moral, a race preserves its highest type. Hugh Miller holds that no finer specimen of manhood can be found than in the present English aristocracy.

The Testimony is a volume full of suggestive seeds; and we venture a few divergent thoughts:

The great object of God in creation would seem to be, *manifestation*; as he said to Pharaoh, "for this same purpose have I raised thee up, to make my power known." In reading, in our earlier days, the works of Edwards, especially that on Universal Salvation, we were often flung into dubious reverie on his assumptions that God performed great transactions to show forth his attributes to the universe. The atonement is a demonstration of his hatred of sin yet mercy for the sinner; and hell itself, with its endless misery, is intended for a display of God's justice to the universe. What proof, said we, that the universe knows, or ever will know, anything about it? Is it, indeed, a fact, that when the scales of mortality fall from our eyes, we forthwith emerge to a full clairvoyance of all the mysteries of the universal republic, and the laws by which it is ruled? But the stupendous pages of geology, laid leaf after leaf, through ages, in the volume of creation, when read by the eye of science, reveal the wonderful fact that Omnipotence has been for long ages manifesting itself in the most affluent evolutions, with no eye but its own to appreciate its almost boundless display. Unless invisible critics were surveying these performances, with all our powers of admiration, the Deity has here been, so far as other minds than his own are concerned, but, as it were, wasting an immensity of *miracula speciosa*. So far, we say, as other than his own mind is concerned; but may it not be somehow that his own mind has its own immediate pleasure in this wreaking itself upon an infinite variety of creation? יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁחַק saith the Hebrew bard; "The sinner in the heaven shall laugh at them." And if Jehovah hath this ireful laugh at his foolish foes, may he not have a laughter of a gentler sort? "Flowers are God's smiles," says somebody, worthy to have been held in our memory for the beautiful thought. But further than this laughter, and even these smiles, may we not say that—*Deus seipsum delectat—God amuseth himself?*

And when we see the volume of the book of the vast submundane history unfolded, what find we but a pictorial series of Divine sportiveness? a secret play spell of the Creator, all for his own secluded entertainment. What funny little contrivances does Hugh Miller detect in the making and jointing the bones and shells of the primitive testaceæ. What beautiful little architectures, where strength, lightness, and elegance are skillfully calculated, are displayed in the chambers of the primitive animalculæ. And then such brilliant hues, so softly blended, so brilliantly flared, so wittily spotted, so tastefully selected.

And these were poured forth with a conscious boundlessness, and a vast yet regulated variety, for no apparent purpose, than *to please himself*, for millions of years, by the unrivaled Lord of Life. Doth God love the cunning fox, the quaint device, the creative joke, as well as we? Is beauty, as it tints the lily, trills in melody, or unfolds in form, a beauty and a "joy forever" to our God? We know that the eagle is an embodiment of grandeur; and the humming bird is a beautiful *jeu d'esprit*. The lion is an epic; and the ape a comedy. And for a perfect burlesque, there was—for he is now extinct—the poor dodo. Upon that melancholy bird, the Creator heaped everything to make him an ungainly stupid clown, who was perfectly blameless for being the butt of the company, until he sorrowfully slinks from its notice, by dropping out of existence. It would seem cruel to pile a certain sort of merciless ridicule upon a thing so innocently half-witted. And yet the Creator has given to every being its compensation. With the universal bribe of conscious life, does he hire all animated beings to suffer the ills of their position in the scale, for the sake of conscious life itself. And do you doubt that they all make the bargain with full consent? See how anxiously they preserve and defend the life he gives, with all the means in their power. Attack their life, and they will, if they can, poison you, or assassinate you, or pound you, according as they have fangs, or horns, or hoofs. Or, if they have no weapons, they will run with the best tug of their legs; or finally die in deep pathos, as if they would complain, not for having obtained, but for losing the boon of existence. Of man, guilty man alone, can it ever be said, "Better that he had never been born."

If these remarks are true, then God performs an infinity of exploitations, that might hold a universe in wonder, awe, or amusement, with no eye in the universe to witness it but his own. Displays of justice most terrible, of tenderness most sweet, of wisdom most boundless, of taste most exquisite, of quaintness most witty, all may be tied together in the infinite knot. "It takes all sorts to make a world," says the proverb; and it may be true that on the entire scale, variety is the all-comprehending law, on which *To Hāv*, the great whole, is planned.

If this be so, we need no gazing universe to see that God may deal with man with a mercy just as tender, a justice just as exact, as if a universe were rapt in study upon it. "For the manifestation of his own glory," and "for his own good pleasure," are phrases of genuine, though not despotic import. And amid the varieties of possibility, without revelation, it would be in vain for man to conjecture his Theodicæ future.

Will unredeemed man, in his multiplied millions, as annihilationism teaches, flare out of the scene of being, a blasted bud, an abortive start, a burst bubble, an everlasting failure? Or is development the key, as restorationism teaches; and is all intelligent immortal existence rolling on the waves of billowy centuries, a mighty Amazon, of which damnation is but a backward eddy in the course, from whose curves the wave will, in rolling æons, return to the onward current, toward the sea of perfect life? Or is hell, indeed, the manifestation of the infinite sternness of the Divine consciousness, highest in its character, absolute in its form, the serious and forever solemn in the variety, the never-

ending tragic line in the comprehensive history, the melting semitone of the eternal anthem of the universe? Religion never fills the soul with its own unspeakable importance, but upon this last presumption.

(3.) "*The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, by ELEAZER LORD." (12mo., pp. 312. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1858.) So far as the absolute authority of the Scriptures is concerned, it might be of little consequence what the theory of inspiration so long as it is conceded that they are *sanctioned* by God, as the veritable revelation from God, and as true in every part and proposition when interpreted in the intentional sense of the writer. It may, we think, be fairly shown that Christ did so sanction the Old Testament. It may be clearly shown that the canon of the New Testament was selected and similarly sanctioned by the authorized apostles of Christ, and accepted by the Apostolic Church in its miraculous age, and before the special guidance of the Spirit was withdrawn. The question of PLENARY AUTHORITY then being assumed, the question of the mode or modes of *inspiration*, is matter of permissible sacred curiosity and of fair textual interpretation, but no longer an article of a standing or falling rule of faith.

Entering, then, the interior of the sacred volume, assuming the perfect truth to the letter of all its declarations, and interrogating its own authority as to the particular modes, we think there might be shown ample grounds for holding that the modes and degrees of inspiration at different times were very various. Dictations of word there no doubt often were; pictorial representation, animating impulse, restraining guardianship, and spiritual exaltation. And yet in the historical parts, where simple matters of human memory and previous document were arranged and recorded, we seem to find that little else was needed or afforded, other than providential guardianship and guidance. It is undemanded by any safety of faith, as it is burdensome to any reasonable belief, to suppose that the books of Chronicles or Ruth, and the narrative of Abishag or Tamar, were produced with the same full flow of plenary inspiration as the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah. We believe in the divinely sanctioned truth and authority of every genuine syllable of these records. They are a decisive rule of faith. We deny the safety and the right of unsettling their foundations or discriminating their authority. We accept them as a whole, and assert their every part. We shoulder the whole task of meeting the attacks of cavil and criticism at every point. In that task we promptly assume as true whatever cannot be by demonstration proved as false. It is true, if every difficulty on any reasonably invented *supposition* admits a solution; it is true, even where no supposition solves the difficulty, and nothing is left but the possibility that the difficulty could be solved by a fuller knowledge of facts.

Such being our view, we deny Mr. Lord's theory of universal Plenary Inspiration; but hold the doctrine of Plenary Authority. We do not hold the doctrine of Verbal Dictation, but we do hold the doctrine of verbal truth and binding power. Mr. Lord's assumption that we think only in words is plentifully contradicted by every man's consciousness. As children we have conceptions, long before we have words. The dog that lies dreaming of the

chase, has rapid trains of thought, but not a syllable of a word. We are constantly exercising perceptions of shades of color, and shapes of matter, for which there is no name. He must have a feeble power of consciousness or a mighty power over words, who is not often possessed of a thought for which he pauses for the word. We hold the conception fast, waiting for its correlative term to come. Who does not often think of a friend's face without being able to recall his name? The argument, then, derived from necessity, that a revelation must be verbal because we cannot think without words, is inconclusive.

In Mr. Lord's strong assertion of due reverence for the Bible as the word of God we fully sympathize. An intuitional religion, unfastened by the letter, unregulated by the rule, may flare gorgeously for a while, but will prove as evanescent as it is emotional. We protest against a faith without a belief. We hold to a doctrine and affirm a creed. Christ is the *truth* as well as the life; and the Church that disparages the truth, will, in due time, lose the life. Those who pretend to hold the *power of godliness* and deny the *form thereof* will not long retain either power or form. We fall back upon "the Bible, the religion of Protestants;" and we would rather fall back to Liturgy and Rubric, where Wesley lived and died, than attempt to soar into that pseudo-transcendentalism which feels the Scriptures a clog and an obstacle, rather than a stay and a guide.

(4.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Continued after his death by Dr. JOHN HENRY AUGUSTUS EBRARD and LIC. AUGUSTUS WIESINGER. Translated from the German for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. Revised after the latest German edition, by A. C. KENDRICK, Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester." (Vol. v. 8vo., 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1858.) From our notation of the successive volumes of this great work, our readers will remark the uninterrupted promptitude with which the enterprising publishers have prosecuted their performance. The Prefatory Note of the Editor, part of which we here present, well describes the remainder of the work:

The Commentary of Olshausen was carried through the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, when it was arrested by his death. The task of completing it was assigned to his successor and former pupil, Dr. Ebrard, who associated with himself Aug. Wiesinger, also a former pupil of Olshausen, and, like Ebrard, sympathizing thoroughly in the evangelical views of his venerated teacher. Ebrard has completed the Exposition of Hebrews and the Revelation; Wiesinger, of Philippians, the Pastoral Epistles, James, and 1 Peter, and is engaged on the other catholic Epistles. Both are men of sound evangelical views, and thorough Biblical scholarship; and if they want something of that depth of spiritual insight, and high genius which lend such a charm to the writings of Olshausen, they are by no means his inferiors in soundness of judgment and exegetical acumen. If they enter less into extended discussions of topics, they will be found, on the contrary, more full and satisfactory to the philologist."

We would hope that such has been the success of this work in our country, that the same editor and same publishers may furnish us an edition of Dr. Rudolph Stier's Words of Jesus; a work which covers less ground with a

still more expanded exposition, with a genius not inferior, and an evangelical orthodoxy more in accordance with the spirit of our American Church than Olshausen; and far more than Neander, whose neologism he indeed, more than once, rebukes with an affectionate severity. Stier not seldom quotes Wesley's Commentary with approbation.

(5.) "*Aspirations of Nature*, by J. T. HECKER." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: James B. Kirker, 371 Broadway, 1857.) Mr. Hecker, now Father Hecker, is a gentleman, we believe, of Methodist parentage, who, failing to accept in his early days a true faith in Christ crucified, wandered a while through a round of skepticisms, obeying his moral instincts by active exertion in the reformatory movements of the day, until at last he found repose, if not security, in the bosom of Romanism. To trace logically and imaginatively, if not historically, this round of trials and results, is the purpose of his volume. It assumes the form of a large disjunctive syllogism. Truth is somewhere; it is not in philosophy, not in Protestantism, it is therefore in papism. We shall not prosecute an elaborate analysis of his argument. It is expressed with some beauty of style, (unless, indeed, we mistake the fine typography of the publisher for the elegant style of the writer,) but can be forcible only with minds of a peculiar make in a peculiar position.

But we must object to the author, that he has no right to impute to Methodism the full Augustinian doctrine of depravity on the authority of a quotation from Charles Wesley, which by no means sustains his allegation. Still less right has he to impute the most ultra antinomianism to Methodism, on the authority of passages from Mr. Fletcher, condemning the antinomianism of the Calvinistic Methodists of his day; an ism which Methodism has repudiated, from that day to this, quite as strongly as Mr. Hecker or his pope.

Mr. Hecker repudiates the doctrine of justification by faith. Yet how, by his own history of the matter, does he himself, after all his wanderings, obtain justification; or, what is the same essential thing, absolution from his sins? Not by moralism; not by a course of reformatory doctrines or measures; not by the deeds of the law. He goes to a certain domicile, and he there becomes *justified by faith*; *justified* at the absolving hand of a priest; *by faith* in the Pope of Rome. Poor Mr. Hecker! How much briefer, safer, and better to have been justified by faith in Christ.

(6.) "*A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship*. Prepared and published by the Direction and for the Use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America." (12mo., pp. 340. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858.) The Synod of the German Reformed Church directed this liturgy to be prepared by a select committee, but does not enjoin its use, leaving it for voluntary adoption in the several Churches. It contains a variety of devotional forms, both public and private, of great excellence. First, are the so-called Primitive forms, consisting of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Magnificat, the Te Deum, the Litany, etc. Next follow Scripture Lessons and Collects for Sabbath worship for the entire ecclesiastical year. Then a large

variety of ritual forms, among which are a Form of Excommunication and Restoration, Laying a Corner Stone, Consecration of a Burial Ground, and Reception of Immigrants. Finally, are added Family Prayer, Private Devotions, and a Collection of Psalms and Hymns.

(7.) "*Memories of Gennesaret*, by Rev. JOHN R. MACDUFF, Author of *Memories of Bethany*." (12mo., pp. 388. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1858.) The object of the author of this and similar works, is to reproduce in conception, as vividly as possible, the sceneries and histories of the days of the Saviour, and make them the basis of devout reflection, expressed in a style of attractive eloquence. He has made much use of Stanley, Trench, Olshausen, and Stier, as authorities and aids. The works of the author have attained a wide popularity in England.

(8.) "*Course of Study for Candidates for Membership in the Canada Conference*. Adopted at the Conference." (18mo., pp. 170. Toronto: published by G. R. Anderson, for the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1857.) This very neat volume was prepared under direction of the Conference by Rev. Ephraim B. Harper, Wesleyan pastor at Hamilton, Canada West. It furnishes a very admirable guide for a four years' course of Biblical, Ecclesiastical, and Theological study. It has an extensive appendix of questions upon that very valuable standard, Pearson on the Creed.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(9.) "*The World of Mind*. An elementary book, by ISAAC TAYLOR, Author of "*Wesley and Methodism*." (12mo., pp. 377. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) Long years have passed—it is among the recollections in the far distant and enchanted regions of our boyhood—since Isaac Taylor gave his first, perhaps his best work, *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, to the world. Since that, a train of thoughtful publications, eminent among which are his *Saturday Evening*, and his *Physical Theory of Another Life*, have secured him, not a reputation for the very highest order of mind, not a place among the clarissimi who have advanced human progress a step, but a claim, most willingly conceded by the public, upon its most respectful attention as to an intellect capable of reflecting new light upon the topics it selects, and clothing rarer thought in nervous and eloquent language.

The present claims to be an *elementary* book; but it is not a book for *elementary* pupils. The author's style is too sententious and austere. His vocabulary lies in the upper, Romanic story of the English language. By a thousand turns of spontaneous expression, he unconsciously assumes that his reader is either a trained scholastic mind, or that he is essentially antecedent master of the subject. This is not then a book for the learner to trace his first pathway through the walks of mental science. But, for the thinker who would re-draw the faded lines of memory in that department, for the student who would retrace, under a new guidance, the old ground, and ascertain the surety

of every step by fresh trial, this is the true book. He will find his author treading with slow and careful step, experimenting whether the ground be marshy and treacherous, or whether it be reliable *terra firma*. He will do this work with such searching incredulity, such power of analysis, and such mastery of language, that we rise from his work largely acquainted with the field of exploration, and fully reassured of the truth of our conclusions. Imagination the author possesses; but it is ever subordinate to his logic. It pictures; but not so much in moist vivid colors, as in graphic forms. Its pieces are monochromatic; all deep iron gray. And they are all the servants of his reasonings, the illustration of his positions, the diagrams of his demonstrations.

Some changes of opinion Isaac Taylor exhibits; one at least since he wrote his *Essay upon Edwards on the Will*. In that essay he was sternly Necessitarian. He is here as clearly a Freedomist. The reasonings in favor of Necessity he will not indeed affirm to be logically answerable; but he affirms that they are contradicted by our primary instincts; and are dissipated and denied the moment we close the train of speculation, and step out into the walks of real life. We may indeed class thinkers upon this subject as follows: 1. The absolute Necessitarians, who profess to believe that volition is to its antecedent as any other effect to its cause; an absolute and solely possible result. 2. Those who hold, with Sir James Mackintosh and Hamilton, that the Necessitarian argument is unanswerable, and liberty inconceivable and undefinable; but that the latter is affirmed by the more reliable elements of our nature. 3. Those who hold that volitions do invariably follow, indeed, a certain antecedence, but that the nexus between the antecedents and the consequent is not causal necessity, but free uniformity. 4. Those who deny even the law of uniformity as being undistinguishable from necessity, and affirm a free alternity of volition even from the same antecedence. Isaac Taylor formerly held the first, but now the second. We hold the last to be the truth.

(10.) "*An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, with an Outline Treatise on Logic*, by Rev. E. V. GERHART, D.D., President of Franklin and Marshall College." (12mo., pp. 359. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858.) Here are two books on great subjects in one little volume. Yet the modest terms of Dr. Gerhart's titles, "Introduction" and "Outline," indicate, what he more explicitly says in his preface, that the book is a *manual* embracing that amount of matter in these two departments of culture which can be dispensed in the brief curriculum of our college education. As such this manual presupposes, we presume, a careful previous training in the elements of psychology embracing a patient analysis of our mental powers and operations. If that be well secured, then a survey of "philosophy," embracing a comprehensive view of the various forms which it has historically assumed, and to which we may well conclude it is confined by the limitations of our mental nature, is not only allowable but important. Without that sober prelude, we would like to take out a chancellor's injunction upon all smart gentlemen's perusing such a book to play off its battery of learned but half-understood terminology, to shock us with a paralysis of astonishment at their depth in metaphysics. Our

German friends do indeed play the mischief with our sound old English mental vocabulary. Did their changes, like the regeneration of the chemical and botanical nomenclature, effect the inauguration of a system of self-evidencing truth and beauty, profound would be our gratitude. But the changes sadly resemble a mere turn of the kaleidoscope, a new evolution of their splendor, without an item of gain to the value either of the elements or the combination.

The professed speciality in Dr. Gerhart's philosophy is the recognition of the person of the Incarnate at its center. He finds, also, the counterpart of the great philosophic theories of the universe reflected in the four theories of the Incarnate Person. Realism and Ebionism, Idealism and Gnosticism, Absolutism and Eutycheanism, Dualism and Nestorianism, are correlative modes of thought in philosophy and Christology.

The Logic is an amplified translation of a German work by Dr. Beck, of Stuttgart; and develops the established principles of that science with brevity, but with considerable clearness and beauty. Yet even for class use, we think the Outline would be improved, both for the convenience of the instructor and the thoroughness of the learner, were a severer chasteness of expression used, and were it furnished with a copious apparatus of examples for praxis.

(11.) "*Source of Power*; or, the Philosophy of Moral Agency, by Rev. S. COMFORT, M.A." (12mo., pp. 416. New-York: Printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) It is the second member of the above double title which most truly describes the purport of the book. Mr. Comfort surveys the wide field of moral agency and consequent responsibility of man as a subject of the Divine government. He first examines the nature of agency in general, and then agency under its moral conditions. He next traces the existence of the tokens of free moral agency, as appearing in the framework of the human soul. This leads him to analyze specially the nature of will, its relations to the other faculties, to motives, and especially to the moral element. Taking up the religious and Scriptural bearings of the subject, he discusses next the character of agency under the fall; the harmony between psychology and Scripture, the reconciliation of free agency with Divine foreknowledge, and the treatment of man as a free agent by both Divine and human governments.

Mr. Comfort unfolds these great topics with admirable force of thought and clearness of language. Every intelligent layman could, without a training in the depths of psychology, follow his steps and stand with him at last upon an elevation from which the whole ground could be contemplated at one clear unflinching glance. Mr. Comfort does not attempt to sound, with long metaphysical line and plummet, the depths of the necessitarian gulf. He rather maintains his stand upon the *terra firma* of common sense, where the ordinary instincts of the general mind stand with him, ready to understand, to feel, and to indorse his conclusions. It is the best, perhaps, of its author's productions; and we cheerfully commend it to the favorable anticipations of our ministry and laity.

III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(12.) *The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience*, by O. A. BROWNSON. (12mo., pp. 450. New-York: Dunigan & Brother, 1857.) We remarked in a former number that Mr. Brownson, "like Augustine, writes Confessions;" but we were not so clairvoyant of the fact that Mr. Brownson was about spreading himself out in a whole volume of confessions, as our accidental hit might have seemed to indicate. Such, however, is his intense self-consciousness that we could have safely predicted that he would, sooner or later, in that way "attempt his own life." Like "P. P., the Clerk of our Parish," in Dean Swift, Mr. Brownson fully realizes "the importance of a man to himself;" and, further, he fully appreciates the importance of "himself" to all the world besides. It is with great propriety that Mr. Brownson titles his autobiography, "The Convert;" for the state of *being converted* has been his normal condition for a large share of his life. If this be, as some affirm, a transition age, then Mr. Brownson may be considered so far the type of his age, as to be properly styled a transition man. The key, we think, to Mr. Brownson's evolutions and final cessation in Romanism, albeit unknown to himself, is this: *Through the whole of his intellectual life Mr. Brownson has been either a Romanist or a skeptic.*

Cardinal Wiseman remarks that all conversions from Romanism have but one process. The inquirer opens the Bible and finds that the particular doctrines of Romanism are not there, and thence he infers those doctrines are not true. Now, says the cardinal, it is plain that such persons were Protestants when they began. They assumed at start the maxim, in which all Protestantism is enveloped, namely, that the Bible is the all-comprehending rule of our faith. They ended Protestants because they began such, and were never anything else. Now, reversing this, Mr. Brownson's own narrative shows that he began his religious life with the assumption of organic human authority as the rule of faith, and so was a Romanist. When he renounced this he became a skeptic, and ceased to be a skeptic only by again returning to Romanism.

Mr. Brownson's early notion of religion was to put himself into somebody's hands and be saved by them. First, he says, (p. 10,) "I almost made up my mind to submit to the Methodists, and let them 'bring me out.'" He, however, gave himself to the Presbyterians, confessedly (p. 29) adopting their authority as his rule of faith. Accordingly, when they at last made him understand that they claimed not to be his proprietors, either as individuals or as an organism, but held the Bible, as being Christ's own authorized words, to be the sole authority, it never entered his purpose to recognize that Bible as historically demonstrated to be Christ's word, and so search its meaning in accordance with that Bible's own direction and spirit. Had he done so he would have been a Bible Christian. No man, since the world began, ever read the Bible in its own spirit, and in full belief of all its statements and obedience to its commands, without becoming a true Christian. We say not a Protestant Christian, for that is a relative term; but an absolute Biblical

Christian, a true Catholic Christian, knowing no more of the Church of Rome than of the Church of Antioch.

By his own description, as soon as the Presbyterians told him that they had no authority as men, and that the common authority for him and them was the Scripture, Mr. Brownson, like a wayward emancipate, commenced to interpret the Bible, not as its obedient pupil, sitting at the feet of the Christ who gave its words, but as a capricious boy handling it as a plaything. Rightly enough, he was forthwith given over to believe a lie. The word of God brooks no such handling. Mr. Brownson ran the gauntlet of anti-Biblical infidelity and landed in almost equally anti-Biblical Romanism.

Had Mr. Brownson "given himself to the Methodists," what would have resulted? The Methodists would not have taken him. They would, indeed, have taken his hand, and have *led him to Christ*; and, without interposing any human interloper between the man and his Saviour, would have bid him, in penitence and faith, submit to that Saviour. Between that penitent and that Saviour the vital matter must be settled. Their advice, in accordance with Christ's own written word, would indeed have guided him. Their prayers would have aided his prayers; their sympathies would have rejoiced in the hour when, in faith upon a present though unseen Saviour, he had received the evidence of his justification before God.

What has Mr. Brownson done? He has surrendered himself to a combination of mere men, whose hypothetical authority is based upon an unhistorical imposture. He has a priestly interloper between Christ and himself. He has fallen into the hands, not of the Redeemer, but of substitutes, who have put a wafer into his mouth, and told him that he was cannibally eating the human flesh of his Lord, and thus, by mastication of a corporeal lump, was expressing therefrom a spiritual grace. He has been set to adoring virgins, and saints, and pictures, and wafers; and is thus bewildered into the second edition of old polytheism. He has, it is to be feared, rejected Christ, and fallen into the hands of antichrist.

That Mr. Brownson is pleased to feel for Methodism a *quant. suf.* of contempt, is of far less consequence to Methodism than to Mr. Brownson himself. So far as Methodism is a pure and perfect guide to Christ himself, she is above all human respect; so far as she is not this, she is worth no man's acceptance. Being this, Mr. Brownson's loss of Methodism is the greatest misfortune of his eternal history.

The volume is done up with much typographical neatness by Dunigan, whose new publishing establishment in Broadway will, we trust, do much for the improvement of our Romanist countrymen.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(13.) "*American Eloquence*; a Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the most eminent Orators of America, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Notes, by FRANK MOORE." (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 576, 614. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.) The characteristic barrenness which in a former number

we imputed to the earlier period of our history in the region of poetry, by no means extends to the department of judicial or senatorial eloquence. The great prosecutions which became *events* in their day, found jurists and advocates amply qualified to honor our bench and our bar; the greatest movements of our history have drawn out statesmen equal to their exigence; and the profoundest questions of political philosophy and state policy have found master thinkers and eloquent orators, fully competent to sound their depths and give their eloquent pronunciamientos a permanent and monumental value. So abundant indeed is our department of oratorical literature, that Mr. Moore has doubtless found, in the formation of these two cyclopedic volumes, the main difficulty to be not *obtainment*, but *selection*. In the earlier period, indeed, this difficulty is diminished by the fact, that the scarcity of reports and the supereminent merits of a certain number of master efforts, have rendered them *classical*. The age seems to have performed the eclectic process, almost as clearly as the early Church selected the sacred canon; quite as clearly as the literary ages selected the immortal remains of classical genius, or the ecclesiastical ages the products of early patristical piety.

In the ante-revolutionary period—beginning already to assume to our imagination much of the aspect of “the years beyond the flood”—we find a fixed elect number, that leaves compiler and critic no volition. A choice fragment or two from James Otis, pregnant with genius and lore, leaves room for our conception to sympathize with the exclamation of John Adams: “James Otis was a flame of fire!” Next (and with all the advantages of a lengthened life and a florid biographer, truly but the *second*) comes Patrick Henry, “the forest-born Demosthenes.” Then follow the elegant periods of the modest Richard Henry Lee, animated, as they are, with the noblest spirit of freedom. John Dickinson furnishes state papers, which won from Chatham the tribute which pronounced them worthy of Thucydides and the ablest masters of antiquity. Samuel Adams furnishes the terse logic; and Josiah Quincy the burning period. Upon this pure and primitive period it is good for our degenerating age to dwell, and inhale its fresh ethereal morning breath of original and universal liberty.

From the commencement of the Constitutional convention to the accession of Jefferson, we have a second period. Of this period, while Fisher Ames has left, in his speech on the British Treaty, the purest specimen beyond all comparison of senatorial eloquence, yet Alexander Hamilton was as unquestionably, in statesmanly power, the master spirit.

The next period, which we should terminate at the commencement of the war debates of 1812, was less marked with magnificent displays of oratorical talent; but the brilliant stars of Clay and Webster (to say less of the erratic flashes of Randolph and the baleful swamp-meteor of Calhoun) were just rising. But within this range we must not forget to locate the noble Bayard; the “without fear and without reproach;” whose speech on the judiciary is peerless in its period. During much of the time preceding our latest point, our Supreme Court, crowned with the presidency of John Marshall, and adorned with the assessorship of Story, was the glory of the nation. At the bar nothing, during the entire series of periods, surpassed the defense of

Selfridge, by Samuel Dexter; the most Websterian monument extant, anterior to the palmy days of Webster.

An Augustan constellation of orators—central of whom in the senatorial, was Webster, in the popular, was Clay—has just passed, and left scarce a survivor worthy to portray its glory. No debate in our legislative history can compare with the celebrated contest of Hayne and Webster upon the apparently unimportant occasion of Mr. Foot's Land Bill. Mr. Webster's speech on that occasion was the crowned masterpiece, beyond all rivalry, of American oratory. Webster must stand the greatest secular intellect of the first century of American history, as the greatest theological was Jonathan Edwards.

Mr. Moore promises a second collection, to consist of the productions of living orators. That was a bad division. He should have made one collection of judicial oratory—of the bench and bar—from the earliest period to the present time. Another collection of political oratory from our origin to the war of 1812. A third collection from that point to the close of Webster's senatorial career, (all he spoke after that point devastated his own reputation,) which was the terminus, in fact, of his oratorical era. Mr. Moore has ably performed, nevertheless, his editorial office. His brief biographies skillfully introduce the orator to his audience. His notes aid in realizing the occasion. His selections leave little ground of dissatisfaction, other than must arise from the defect we have just imputed to his plan. The externals commend the work to the libraries of our legal gentlemen, our scholars, and our young aspirants to statesmanship.

We must particularly note the excellence of the engravings of the two volumes, executed by W. G. Jackman. The extent of the octavo page furnishes room for a goodly size of figure, and the clear distinctness of the lines gives a fresh life-likeness to the expression. As a frontispiece we have James Otis; impressing us as, what Cicero would have called, *vir fictus*—a chiseled man; with his fine, and singularly oval head, upon an oval figure. We know not whether there was in the face of Alexander Hamilton the eagle look that we seem to see in his picture. It is curious, and sometimes sad, to trace the varying expressions which, under the shadows of advancing years, are assumed by the pictures of illustrious men. The artist's work should cease, after the zenith of life and the summit of success have passed. Mr. Clay's last pictures have the disturbed eye and marred features of disease and approaching death. Upon the pictures of Mr. Webster's face, which, at his noon of life and fame, presented the very ideal of a statesmanly jurist, there gathered in his latter days a deep, dark, almost stormy lower, abundantly apparent in the present specimen. But in no face has gradual depravation been so palpably stamped as Mr. Calhoun's. As bad ambition acquired the mastery of his spirit, as the free expansion of his faculties into comprehensive enlargement for vast statesmanly good became contracted, its generous expression was dimmed. As the gradual surrender of all his powers to the narrowest of causes concentrated and crisped his soul to the narrowest dimensions, his figure became still more lank and scragged; his eye caught a demoniac fire; his locks flung out a maniac haggardness; and no outline, drawn by artist's hand, to give true picture of the human face divine, ever furnished more unerring token that the

spirit within had prematurely grown to fiend. As later research is endeavoring to withdraw Aaron Burr from the traitor's pedestal in American history, the sure instinct of advancing reflection will concede the true succession to John C. Calhoun.

(14.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856.* From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the Official Reported Debates, by JOHN C. RIVES. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View." (8vo., vols. iv, v, and vi, pp. 761, 757, 744. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1858.) It will be seen that this great work, the honorable product of Senator Benton's retired days, extends over a period of nearly seventy years of congressional discussion. It is, therefore, up to its last named date, a complete parliamentary record; invaluable as a matter of reference, and as a reliable material for history; while the abridgment from so masterly a hand, it may well be supposed, will be done with a skill which will preserve its character as a record of our best Parliamentary eloquence. A copy of the entire work should stand in the libraries of our higher literary institutions. The lawyer, the statesman, the investigator of American history, will find it an indispensable matter of study and authority.

(15.) "*Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism*, by Rev. J. B. WAKELEY." (12mo., pp. 595. New-York: Printed for the Author, 200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) Mr. Wakeley is an antiquarian among antiquities almost one hundred years old. An "old book" was revealed (to use the word in its very modern application) to him by a happy fortuity; and thereby he reveals to us, as from the dead, a variety of interesting facts, and fac-similes, touching the founders of American Methodism especially. No book yet published so transfers us back to that primeval period, and enables us to feel ourselves amid its surroundings, both men and things.

V.—Educational.

(16.) "*The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a History of its Origin and Development.* Abridged from the octavo edition. Designed for General use in Schools and Families, by WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College." (12mo., pp. 381. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) This reduction of Professor Fowler's work to a manual form and size, renders it, we should suppose, a valuable class-book. Its main peculiarity of tracing the genesis of our language, and its position among the dialects of the world, enhances its value, and does not in the least appear to interfere with its thorough practical drilling in the actual principle and properties of the language. We may safely recommend it to the attention of our academic institutions.

(17.) "*Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*" (8vo., pp. 128. New-York: Printed for the Union,

200 Mulberry-street, 1858.) The following cheering statement furnishes proof that this great arm of the Church is not losing its power under Dr. Wise's able administration:

"A greater number of new schools have been organized in the year past than in any year since 1851; and the increase of officers, teachers, and scholars is greater than has been reported for six years. These results, as well as the net annual increase of our schools during the past *eleven* years, will be apparent to all who will be at the pains to examine the following table:

INCREASE IN ELEVEN YEARS

	Schools.	Off's. & Teach.	Scholars.	Total Exp's. of Schools.	Total Conversions.	Increase of Church Mem.
Increase in 1847	457	4,056	19,600	\$34,900	4,118	Dec.
" 1848	190	5,118	16,802	46,843	8,240	7,509
" 1849	576	3,610	35,201	48,079	9,014	23,249
" 1850	687	10,966	37,356	54,587	11,398	27,367
" 1851	685	8,721	43,722	66,124	14,557	32,122
" 1852	369	4,470	31,368	69,094	13,243	6,896
" 1853	346	4,701	20,329	83,965	16,916	3,937
" 1854	470	4,917	28,057	95,690	17,494	30,732
" 1855	561	5,510	26,061	102,485	17,443	16,073
" 1856	131	1,160	24,987	99,614	16,775	896
" 1857	629	6,102	35,007	15,945	14,669*	20,192
Total increase . .	5,100	59,329	318,490	\$717,326	143,867	168,972

"Six hundred and thirty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty children, (one tenth of the children of this nation, between the ages of five and fifteen,) are, at this moment, in the Sunday schools of our Church."

Handsome additions have been made to the library. And those who believe that it is the solemn duty of our Church to educate her people, old and young, in the principles of Wesley in regard to the great doctrines of human rights, will recognize with pleasure, that the Sunday-school department refuses to abdicate its duty upon this subject. With sorrow we have marked that slavery has expurgated from our *secular* school books the pieces that breathed the spirit of freedom into our young hearts. It is time to enter our dissent from that "great apostasy." But still more deeply and firmly would we protest against permitting the same expurgation to emasculate the religious books and periodicals that shall educate our children in the principles of freedom, truth, and piety. None who are truly loyal to the primary principles of American freedom, to the doctrines of Wesley and the institutions of our Church, will approve an unmanly policy by which those sacred principles would be permitted to die out in the very next generation.

(18.) "*Marcus; or, the Boy-Tamer*, by WALTER AIMWELL." This is one of a series by the same author, who is counted, we believe, with Peter Parley, Francis Forrester, and other great writers of boy America. We speak not of these books with any "prejudice" arising from having read any part of them. But our correspondents belonging to that section inform us that the *Boy-Tamer* is accepted by the boys; and that the series undergoes a ready absorption.

* The number reported from thirty-one conferences only.

(19.) "*Elementary German Reader*, on the plan of Jacob's Greek Reader, with a full Vocabulary, composed, compiled, and arranged systematically, by Rev. L. W. HEYDENREICH, Graduate of the University of France, and Professor of Languages in the Moravian Female Seminary at Bethlehem, Pa." (18mo., pp. 164. New-York: Appleton & Co.) An admirable manual, on an excellent method, by an accomplished scholar.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(20.) "*Lucy Howard's Journal*, by Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY." (12mo., pp. 343. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) To our own taste, or rather feelings, this is by far the best of Mrs. Sigourney's productions. It is an imaginary autobiography, in form of a diary. It begins with the school days, and lets us, with magic power, into the recesses of the thoughts of a pure-minded girl. Simply, yet touchingly, the chaste sweet heart portrays itself; not by description, but by unconsciously recording its own most genuine sensations. The diarist continues her record through the days of young womanhood, exhibiting with a singular truthness to nature her mental development through passing years, until she has become a wife and a mother, meeting the sterner realities of life with a gentle firmness, in which the undiminished fullness of feminine affections is blended with a sense of duty, elevated by religion. The days of sorrow, which to most of us are so necessary to deepen and to chasten our natures, came only to *exhibit* in her the qualities they were not needed to create. In the midst of those sorrows, the record suddenly, like a strain of plaintive music, ceases—dies in silence. Then another hand interposes, and informs us that the silence is the silence of death.

The critics say little about this volume; and the public makes no stir. Perhaps we are to blame; but since Uncle Tom, we have read nothing that has, without the slightest apparent effort of the author, and without much excuse for us, so pestered us in the reading, with blended smiles and tears. Ditto has been the effect in our own little home circle of readers. Suppose our larger Quarterly circle try and see.

There are some little faults of detail. Mrs. Sigourney should not have made her diarist anticipate the metrical style of *Hiawatha*. And the ostensible editor, who furnishes the closing paragraphs, writes in a style so identical with that of the diarist, that a sense of the unreality offends at the very moment of closing the volume.

(21.) "*Debit and Credit*. Translated from the German of Freytag, by L. C. C. With a Preface by C. C. J. Bunsen." (12mo., pp. 564. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.) Freytag is known to scholars as the author of a standard Arabic Dictionary. He here appears as the author of what Chevalier Bunsen pronounces "the most popular German novel of the age."

The purpose of the fiction is to describe the relations between the sinking

feudal classes of Prussia and the rising, middle, and lower classes. The idea of the book, Bunsen sums up in three propositions, as follows:

"1. The fusion of the educated classes, and the total abolition of bureaucracy, and all social barriers between the ancient nobility and the educated classes in the nation, especially the industrial and mercantile population.

"2. The just and Christian bearing of this united body toward the working classes, especially in towns.

"3. The recognition of the mighty fact that the educated middle classes of all nations, but especially of those of Germany, are perfectly aware that even the present, but still more the near future, is their own, if they advance along the legal path to a perfect constitutional monarchy, resisting all temptations to the right hand or to the left, not with embittered feelings, but in the cheerful temper of a moral self-confidence."

VII.—Miscellaneous.

(22.) "*The New American Encyclopedia, a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, edited by GEORGE RIPLEY, and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. 1, A—Araguay." (8vo., pp. 762. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858.) The first installment of a large enterprise. The volume is a magnificent commencement, and yet has not finished the first letter of the alphabet. The able editors acknowledge large obligations to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, published by Didot, Paris, and to the *English Cyclopædia* edited by Charles Knight, London. Nearly a hundred writers have contributed to the work. Their contributions have been so modified by the present editors, as to secure unity. Care has been taken to introduce no special opinions, while the work ranges through the wide domains of History, Biography, Natural Philosophy, Industrial Arts, including Agriculture and Practical Domestic Economy, Law, Political Economy, etc. The history of religious sects will be mainly furnished by able writers from their own body.

Our Quarterly Review has been obliged to notice, with severe animadversion, the illiberal use which has been made of former publications of this kind, to gratify the sectarian prejudice of the accidental editors, and the injustice which our denomination has suffered at their hands. We have the pleasure to say that the services of Drs. M'Clintock, Curry, and Strickland have been engaged to contribute the articles that concern our own Church, and certainly a better representation we could not ask. We may add that the work has the high recommendation of Bishop Janes, Dr. Holdich, and other of our leading ministers.

(23.) "*A Dictionary of Medical Science, with French and other Synonyms*, by ROBLEY DUNGLISON, M.D., LL.D., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. Revised and very greatly enlarged." (8vo., pp. 992. Philadelphia; Blanchard & Lea, 1857.) Dr. Dunglison has furnished to the profession a number of works of very elaborate character, prominent among which is his treatise of Human Physiology. The present work in its first edition received the commendation of foreign periodicals as a prodigious work, happily at last accomplished. But in the present edition

are added, besides revisions, some six thousand new terms and subjects, some of them recently incorporated into the nomenclature of science, others the fruit of further research. Our country has just reason to be proud of such evidences of the industry, erudition, and talent of our medical profession.

(24.) "*Handbook of Railroad Construction; for the Use of American Engineers: containing the Necessary Rules, Tables, and Formula for the Location, Construction, Equipment, and Management of Railroads, as built in the United States. With one hundred and fifty-eight Illustrations. By GEORGE L. VOSE, Civil Engineer.*" (8vo., pp. 480. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1857.) Presuming the reader to be acquainted with elementary mathematics and mechanics, Mr. Vose here furnishes for him a practical handbook for practical office use. His purpose is not to furnish a text-book for the scientific school. For the engineer and railroad manager it will doubtless prove a valuable manual.

Of the following we have not room for full notice:

(25.) "*Gathered Lillies; or, Little Children in Heaven*, by A. C. THOMPSON, Author of '*The Better Land.*'" (18mo., pp. 59. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1858.) A gem of rare beauty for the bereaved parent.

(26.) "*One Week at Amer, an American City of the Nineteenth Century.*" (18mo., pp. 119. Boston; Munroe & Co., 1858.) A satirical poem; not over sparkling with either satire or poetry.

(27.) "*European Acquaintance; being Sketches of People in Europe*, by J. W. DE FOREST, Author of '*Oriental Acquaintance, etc.*'" (12mo., pp. 276. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.)

VIII.—Periodicals.

(28.) "*The Phonographic Magazine*, Edited and Engraved on Stone, by BENN PITMAN. Monthly for March, 1858." (Cincinnati: B. Pitman, Phonographic Institute.) This is an *engraved* monthly magazine! With the exceptions of headings and quoted words, it is in the phonographic type from beginning to end. Its beauty of page would be obvious to any susceptible eye; but its wonderful power of embracing articulate vocalities in brief and facile forms, and surrendering them to the demanding perceptions with magic ease and clearness, is intelligible to the glance of the *initiates* alone. You understand English, do you? Here is English, arrayed in forms the most beautiful, the most transparent, which it ever wore to any human eye; to which you are as blind, mayhap, as an owlet to the morning star.

The present number of the *Phonographic Magazine* contains "A Letter from the Royal Stenographic Institute of Dresden," proposing to open a cor-

respondence and interchange between the promoters of Phonetic science of Saxony and the United States. It bears the signature of M. Hugo Hape, the president of the Royal Institute and Councilor of the Regency. The functions of the institute are to stenograph the transactions of the government, to train a corps of stenographers, and promote the advancement and perfection of the stenographic art. It publishes a stenographic periodical folio; one third of each page is in stenography, and the remaining two thirds furnish its expansion into long hand.

We advise most earnestly that the art of phonography be introduced into our seminaries and colleges. Especially and immediately do we advise its encouragement in our institutes for preparing our ministry, and its acquirement by every young man in our ministry. Of its ultimate adoption into normal schools, high schools, and public schools, we cherish a firm hope.

(29.) "*The Christian Repository and Ladies' Magazine*, Devoted to Religion and Literature. A. OWEN, Editor." (8vo., pp. 64. Dayton, Ohio: Published for the United Brethren in Christ, by Vonneida & Sowers.) A spirited repository of literature, both original and selected. It is done up with talent, and tasteful external finish. Its religious tone is pure, while its air is frank and clear upon the great questions of truth and righteousness.

ART. XII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

Analecta Nicæna: Fragments relating to the Council of Nice. The Syriac Text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum. With Translation and Notes. By B. Harris Cowper. This publication contains the last letter of Constantine, summoning the Council of Nice, and a most complete and authentic recension of the catalogue of subscribing fathers, from a MS. of great antiquity.

Of *Bengel's Guæmon of the New Testament*, two volumes are translated and ready. The remaining three volumes will be published early in 1838.

The works of Rev. R. Knight are favorably noticed, namely: *The Doctrine of Scriptural Predestination*, with Remarks upon the Baptismal Question. Also, a Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

A *Dissertation on Sacred Chronology*, containing Scriptural Evidence to show that the Creation of Man took place 5,833 years before Christ. By Rev. N. Reuse. With a few pages on the Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho.

New editions are in press, by Oliphant & Sons, Edinburgh, of Dr. John Pye Smith's celebrated work, *The Scripture*

Testimony to the Messiah; and also his work, *The Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Atonement and Redemption thence Accruing*.

Mr. Maurice has lately published *Five Sermons on the Indian Origin*. Also a *Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics*, founded on the Epistles of St. John.

Personal Recollections of the Last Four Popes, by Cardinal Wiseman.

Homer and the Homeric Age, by Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, M.P. 3 vols. 8vo., from the Oxford University Press.

Constable & Co. have issued the tenth volume of the collected works of Dugald Stewart, containing Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Thomas Reid. A memoir of Dugald Stewart, with Selections from his Correspondence, is prefixed, by John Veitch, M.A.

The Stars and the Angels; or the Natural History of the Universe and its Inhabitants.

Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative, by Herbert Spencer. Chiefly reprinted from the Quarterly Reviews, and said to be able.